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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
NEW YORK CITY AREA—PART 7
(Based on Testimony of Manning Johnson)

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
Congress, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

JULY 8, 1953

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities



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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83d CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

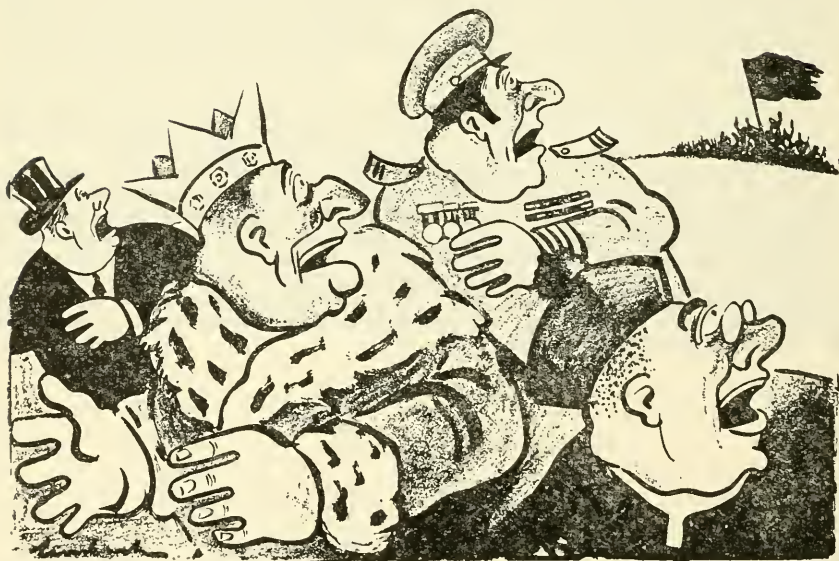
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MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 5

(New Pioneer, February 1935, pp. 10 and 11)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NEW YORK CITY AREA—PART 7

(Based on testimony of Manning Johnson)

WEDNESDAY, JULY 8, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
New York, N. Y.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:05 a. m., in room 1305 of the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York, N. Y., Hon. Gordon H. Scherer presiding.

Committee member present: Representative Gordon H. Scherer.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; W. Jackson Jones, Alvin W. Stokes, and George E. Cooper, investigators; Larry Kerley, special investigator; and Mrs. Juliette Joray, acting clerk.

Mr. SCHERER. Let the record show that the Honorable Harold H. Velde, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has appointed Representative Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio, as a subcommittee of one to conclude the New York hearings.

Present are Mr. Robert L. Kunzig, counsel of the committee, and Mrs. Juliette Joray, acting clerk.

Mr. Counsel, you may proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. We are ready for the witness, Mr. Chairman.

Will Mr. Manning Johnson please step forward?

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Johnson, do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your full name for the record and spell it, please, for the stenographer.

TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON

Mr. JOHNSON. Manning Johnson, M-a-n-n-i-n-g J-o-h-n-s-o-n.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present address, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. My present address is 70 Columbus Avenue.

Mr. KUNZIG. I note, Mr. Johnson, that you are not accompanied by counsel here this morning. I am sure you understand you are privi-

¹ Released by the full committee.

leged to be advised by an attorney at all times while testifying if you so desire. Do I take it that you prefer to testify without an attorney?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then we will continue. Would you give the subcommittee a résumé of your educational and occupational background? Just tell us your experiences, your main experiences up to date.

Mr. JOHNSON. I was born in Washington, D. C., December 18, 1907. I was educated in the elementary, junior high, and high school in Washington, D. C. I graduated from the Naval Air Technical Training School in Memphis, Tenn. I graduated from the national training school of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. What year was that?

Mr. JOHNSON. 1932. At the present time I am employed as a consultant in the Investigation Section of the Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, in the city of New York. In 1930, in the city of Buffalo, N. Y., I joined the Communist Party, in 1931 I was appointed district agitation and propaganda director, a position which I held until 1932. In the latter part of 1932 I was appointed district organizer of the Communist Party in Buffalo, N. Y., district No. 4. I remained district organizer until the middle of 1934. I was later transferred to New York City, the headquarters of the Communist Party in America.

In 1934 or 1935 I became a member of the trade union commission of the national committee of the Communist Party. I held this position until 1940.

I was also a member of the national Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist Party. I was appointed to this position in either 1934 or 1935. I held this position up until I left the party in 1940. I was also a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. I was elected to the national committee at the national convention of the Communist Party in 1936. I remained a member of the national committee until the national convention of the Communist Party in 1938.

I left the Communist Party—that is, I attended my last meeting in 1940, though I had decided in 1939 that I was through with communism and that forever after I would conscientiously and vigorously oppose it, vocally and spiritually.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. JOHNSON, this committee is studying the activities of certain individuals in the field of clergy with special attention to their alleged Communist and subversive activities. Since you have such a fund of knowledge of the activities of Communists in this country, would you state briefly the Communist position on religion?

Mr. JOHNSON. Briefly, the Communist Party is antireligious. Communism and religion have nothing in common. Religion is the antithesis of communism. Consequently, the Communists are unalterably opposed to it, and their program calls for a ceaseless struggle or war to the complete extermination and extinction of religion from the face of the earth. Atheism, as I know it, on the basis of my personal experience as a Communist and my study of the documents of the party—that no member of the Communist Party can be a member of the party unless he becomes an atheist.

I have here a statement by Earl Browder "What is Communism?" page 146, in which he states in reply to the question, "Must a member of the Communist Party be an atheist?" that—

The Communists maintain that the religious beliefs of a person are his private concern in relation to the state and governmental policies. The state should not dictate religious beliefs. We Communists are completely opposed on principle to state coercion in regard to religious beliefs. Of course Communists do not believe religion to be a private matter insofar as it concerns members of our revolutionary party. We stand without any reservations for education that will root out belief in the supernatural, that will remove the religious prejudices which stand in the way of organizing the masses for socialism, that will withdraw the special privileges of religious institutions, but as far as religious workers go, the party does not insist that they abandon their beliefs before they join the party. Our test for such people is whether they represent and fight for the aspiration of the masses. If they do, we will welcome them into our party and we exercise no coercion against their religious beliefs within our movement.

We subject their religious beliefs to careful and systematic criticism, and we expect that they will not be able to withstand this educational process. It is our experience that their work in the movement will bring them to see the correctness of our viewpoint on the question.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, do you by any chance have the date that the book, *What Is Communism?* was published?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; it was published in 1936, Workers Library Publishers, in New York.

Mr. KUNZIG. As I understand it, then, Mr. Johnson, you are saying, in effect, that atheism is a must for all Communists.

Mr. JOHNSON. It is a must.

I wish to call your attention to an additional quote from Earl Browder's book, *What Is Communism?* in which he says that—

It is significant that the Communist Party, more than any other labor group, has been able to achieve successful united fronts with church groups on the most important issues of the day. This is not due to any compromise with religion as such on our part. In fact, by going among the religious masses we are, for the first time, able to bring our antireligious ideas to them.

This is page 147, chapter 17, *What About Religion?*

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have further documentary evidence proving the point that you are making that Communists are unalterably opposed to religion?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I have, and I would like to quote from one of the international leaders of the Communist movement and a member of the Communist Party of Russia, E. Yaroslavsky. From his book *I quote, Religion in the U. S. S. R.*, and, of course, published by International Publishers in New York, a Communist publishing agency—

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have the date?

Mr. JOHNSON. 1934. He states:

Is it not possible to be a Communist and at the same time believe in religion; i. e., believe that the whole world is controlled by a god or number of gods and that everything on earth is done by the will of these gods or of their assistance? The saints or the malice of evil spirits, devils, fiends, Satan? Is it possible to live without believing in God and yet preserving morality?

Mr. KUNZIG. You are still quoting, but you have skipped something, have you not?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Every Leninist, every Communist, every class-conscious worker and peasant must be able to explain why a Communist cannot support religion, why Communists fight against religion, and every Communist must be able to answer the questions put to him by his fellow workers on that subject.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you, Mr. Johnson, ever personally given instruction in atheism?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I was. When I first joined the Communist Party, the district organizer, Peter Chaunt, C-h-a-u-n-t, and a member of the district bureau and the district committee of the Communist Party by the name of Otto Hall, talked at great length to me on the subject of communism and religion. The essence of what they said was that man made God, not God made man, and that the duty of every Communist is to rid himself of the supernatural bondage of religion; that religion is used by the powers that be in order to keep the masses of the people in docile submission to exploitation. Therefore, the liberation of the masses of humanity is dependent upon their emancipation from religious ideology.

In addition to these so-called lessons of indoctrination, they gave me Lenin's writings on religion, in which he states practically the same thing.

Mr. KUNZIG. When and where was this given to you, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. This was in Buffalo, N. Y., when I first joined the party, in 1930.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any samples of any printed instruction which was given to you?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I do have. I was given the pamphlets and booklets that were written by Bishop William Montgomery Brown. He was a prominent Episcopalian bishop who was expelled from the church because of heresy. He devoted the balance of his life to a war on religion. He published such books as the Bankruptcy of Christian Supernaturalism, Heresy, and others. The Communist Party received a large supply of these antireligious pamphlets, and they circulated them very extensively. They either gave them away or sold them.

Mr. KUNZIG. Throughout the United States of America?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, throughout the United States.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me just ask one question. You have here with you this morning some of the books and pamphlets of Bishop Brown to which you have referred; have you not?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I have.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you just for the record say which ones are in your possession at this time?

Mr. JOHNSON. I have a copy of the Bankruptcy of Christian Supernaturalism, volumes 1, 2, and 3.

Mr. SCHERER. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Johnson, in the books of Bishop Brown to which you have just referred, is there anything of significance which should be brought to the attention of the committee?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, there is. He states in Communism and Christianity, on page 210:

Christianism is nothing to either the owners or workers in the sky, for its God and heaven, devil and hell are lies, and neither religious Christianity or political republicanism or democratism, not to speak of the other evils of religion and politics, offers the workers aught on earth. Capitalism is the god of this world, of no part of it no more than of these United States, and capitalism is to the laborer a wrong, lying, murderous devil, not a good divinity.

I may also state that the main theme of Bishop Brown was to banish gods from the heavens and capitalists from the earth for the science of Moscow against the superstition of Rome.

Bishop Brown not only wrote such books for adults, but he also wrote books for children in order to indoctrinate them in atheism.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me ask at this point, is Bishop Brown still alive?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, Bishop Brown is dead and incidentally, he willed his entire estate to the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. When did he die; do you know?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not recall.

Mr. SCHERER. Approximately.

Mr. JOHNSON. About 10 years ago.

Mr. SCHERER. And he was bishop of what church?

Mr. JOHNSON. Episcopal bishop, but I do not know exactly which church.

I stated before that he also issued antireligious material for children, and I have here a photostatic copy taken from the New Pioneer, the second month in the 33d year. That is February 1933. This is an article Science and Nature for Johnny Rebel, by Bert Grant, which was a review of a book written by Bishop Brown, and Grant said:

Once there was a young man who made his living by telling the workers fairy tales about how the world was created. He also told them how the world was going to end and what they must do to be saved when that happened. Most of all, he was trained to lead the minds of workers and their children away from their problems on this earth and to occupy their attention as much as possible with affairs in some supposed other world beyond the sky. That is what all ministers and priests make their living by doing, and this young man was a minister. He preached in the Episcopal Church, but as he grew older, he came to see how false his preaching was and how it really held the workers and their children back instead of helping them. He therefore began to talk and write in a different way. He began to show the workers how the churches had always taught them what was not true and how these untrue teachings had stood in the way of human progress. For that he was thrown out of the church. Now he has written a grand book, especially for workers' children, putting 2 billion years of science and history into a simple, thrilling story that every Johnny and Jill Rebel can read and enjoy, and how different it is from the dull mistaken stuff they teach in school and church. No lists of dates and presidents, no hocus pocus about spirits that don't exist, no comments to be loyal to the employers and their government and let them keep on robbing us—quite the opposite. Every page tears to tatters some pet idea that the bosses try to make, the teachers try to force into their heads.

Let us take two sets of statements. Set No. 1 is: The earth is 4,000 years old; the world and all living things in it were made in 1 week; everything was created by a Spirit called God; men were all wicked until Christian religion came into the world to teach them goodness; the church built the first schools and hospitals and abolished slavery, helped science to grow, and established human brotherhood.

If the workers come into power as in the Russian revolution, they will act cruelly and stupidly and destroy civilization.

You'd get an A-plus if you answered "True" to these statements in most schools, wouldn't you? But let us look at set No. 2:

The earth is 2 billion years old. For millions of years there was no life on the earth. Then the very tiny plants called bacteria appeared in the hot ocean and very gradually the life so started and developed in all plants and animals we have now, and man was the latest animal to develop, coming about a million years ago. There are no spirits and everything there grew to its present condition without the interference of any god. Great thinkers taught goodness and science and people were industrious and kindhearted long before Christianity existed. The church was always in favor of slavery, tyranny and war, did everything it could to crush science and has stood with the rich and powerful against the workers in every age. The Russian revolution in which the workers are planning their own life and using for themselves the wealth they create, is the most important single advance civilization has made.

Quite a different point of view, isn't it? But this is the truth and set No. 1 is bunk, and these are only a few of the fascinating facts this inspiring book will

tell you; even though there are no pictures, you will spend many an interesting hour reading the little volume and talking about it with your comrades.

The name of the book? Oh, yes. It is Science and History for Boys and Girls by William Montgomery Brown. It has 320 pages, and you can get it through the New Pioneer office for only 25 cents.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, you are testifying that this type of printed material, poisoning the minds of American youths, was sent out by the Communist Party all over this country, is that right?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, that is correct, and mind you, those are young people between the ages of 10 and 16.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have here a photostatic copy of page 17, of New Pioneer, issue of February 1933, which has just been read by the witness, headed "Science and Nature for Johnny Rebel." It is marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 1," and I should like to offer it into evidence.

Mr. SCHERER. It will be received.

(The photostatic copy of the article, Science and Nature for Johnny Rebel, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 1.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT NO. 1

(New Pioneer, February 1933, p. 17)

SCIENCE AND NATURE FOR JOHNNY REBEL

A Grand New Science Book by Bert Grant

Once there was a young man who made his living by telling the workers fairy tales about how the world was created. He also told them how the world was going to end, and what they must do to be "saved" when that happened. Most of all, he was trained to lead the minds of the workers and their children away from their problems on this earth, and to occupy their attention as much as possible with affairs in some supposed "other world" beyond the sky.

That is what all ministers and priests make their living by doing, and this young man was a minister. He preached in the Episcopal Church. But as he grew older he came to see how false this preaching was, and how it really held the workers and their children back instead of helping them. He therefore began to talk and write in a very different way. He began to show the workers how the churches had always taught them what was not true, and how these untrue teachings had stood in the way of human progress. For that he was thrown out of the church.

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And how different it all is from the dull, mistaken stuff they teach us in school and church. No lists of dates and presidents, no hocus-pocus about spirits that don't exist, no comments to be "loyal" to the employers and their government and let them keep on robbing us.

Quite the opposite. Every page tears to tatters some pet idea that the bosses try to make the teachers try to force into our heads.

Let us take two sets of statements. Set No. 1 is:

The earth is 4,000 years old.

The world and all living things in it were made in 1 week.

Everything was created by a Spirit called God.

Men were all wicked until the Christian religion came into the world to teach goodness.

The church built the first schools and hospitals, abolished slavery, helped science to grow and established human brotherhood.

If the workers come into power, as in the Russian Revolution, they will act cruelly and stupidly and destroy civilization.

You'd get an A-plus if you answered "true" to those statements in most schools, wouldn't you? But now let us look at set No. 2:

The earth is 2 billion years old.

For millions of years there was no life on the earth. Then very tiny plants, called bacteria, appeared in the hot oceans, and very gradually the life so started developed into all plants and animals we have now. Man was the latest animal to develop, coming about a million years ago.

There are no spirits, and everything there grew to its present condition without the interference of any god.

Great thinkers taught goodness and science, and people were industrious and kindhearted long before Christianity existed.

The church was always in favor of slavery, tyranny, and war, did everything it could to crush science, and has stood with the rich and powerful against the workers in every age.

The Russian revolution, in which the workers are planning their own lives and using for themselves the wealth they create, is the most important single advance civilization has ever made.

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The name of the book? Oh, yes—it is Science and History for Boys and Girls, by William Montgomery Brown. It has 320 pages, and you can get it through the New Pioneer office for only 25 cents.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have just given us an example of the type of printed material which is sent out to children. Would you go a little bit further into the type of instruction which the youth and the children receive under communism?

Mr. JOHNSON. When I was a member of the Communist Party, the Communist Party paid special attention to the indoctrination of the youth. They in fact issued special bulletins instructing leaders and teachers with regard to the type of training for the youth.

I have here in my possession a pamphlet, *The Worker's Child*, which was published in April 1933 by the Central Pioneer Bureau. It is a bulletin for teachers, leaders, and parents of proletarian and foreign children. I wish to quote from this book to give you an indication of the kind and nature of training and where it comes from that these children were to be given.

Mr. KUNZIG. Please continue and give us a brief and most important quote.

Mr. JOHNSON. On page 6 it states:

It was only in the summer of 1930 with the adoption of a resolution on work among children by the executive committee of the Young Communist International and Communist International that a change took place in our conception of work among children. This line was further emphasized successively by the sixth convention of the Young Communist League in its pioneer commission and by a recent resolution of the central committee of the Communist Party. These documents clarified further the basic line underlying a Communist approach to child education, the necessity for childlike methods of work as well as the role of the working class as a whole in the development of a mass children's movement. During this time the Pioneer magazine was developed. While it is necessary to understand the resolution of the Communist Party in the light of development of our movement, it is not the purpose of this article to go into detail on this subject.

Mr. SCHERER. We will have a short recess.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Was the Young Communist League for young people of ages 16 to 25, is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Young Pioneers were from ages 10 to 16?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. This magazine, the New Pioneer, was a Communist Party publication, I presume, issued by the children's bureau of the Communist Party.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further documents or material evidence you can present to this committee illustrating the type of propaganda which was put out by the Communist Party in religion?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I have; and before I present that, I would like to state that what is written in the Pioneer magazine is written directly and not in a roundabout way, because that is necessary for the proper education of the child.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean the Communist Party does not attempt to beat around the bush when they are dealing with children. They deal directly and say what they mean so that it can penetrate the children's minds?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

I have before me a cartoon and an article written by Clarina Michelson, who has for years been a leader of the Communist Party with whom I have worked in leading committees of the party during the period of my membership. The subject of this article, I quote, "The Puppet Show." Now, this cartoon shows a capitalist with a fistful of money manipulating puppets. The puppets are a sheriff, a policeman, a minister, a judge, and a plant guard. The moral of this story is that the puppets are only the tools of the capitalist class.

Now, Clarina Michelson makes this very clear in the concluding 2 paragraphs of the 2 stories which I would like to read into the record.

Mr. KUNZIG. Proceed.

Mr. JOHNSON. I quote:

And they had the idea that when the United States Constitution guaranteed them the rights of free speech and free assemblage that they had a right to meet and speak. They were surprised and they began to think, and then they saw that there were two sides, that they and their wives and the kids, all workers, were on one side, and that on the other side were the coal operators, mill owners, and all the other capitalists, together with the governors, judges, city, State, and Federal authorities, together with the newspapers, churches, schools, and the law, and they saw that all these were linked up together and all were part of the same thing. When workers and their kids think that clearly and see that clearly, it is pretty good thinking, and when enough of us do, we will give that puppet show such a sock it will be smashed to smithereens and we will give the fat manager of the show, Mr. Capitalist, such a big kick in the middle of his system that he will see the workers have come into their own—and they will have.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have in my hand a photostatic copy of this document by Clarina Michelson which has just been identified here by the witness. It is an article appearing on pages 3 and 4 of the New Pioneer, issue of April 1932. It is marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 2" for identification, and I should like to offer this into evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 2.

Mr. SCHERER. It may be so admitted.

(The article, The Puppet Show, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 2.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 2

New Pioneer, April 1932, Pages 3-4

THE PUPPET SHOW

By Clarina Michelson

Do you know what a puppet show is? Well, there is a stage, very small, too small for real people to act on. The actors on this stage are jointed wooden dolls. They are dressed up like real men and women. They walk and sit down and dance and turn somersaults, and you wonder—How come? And then you see that a string is attached to each one of them and all these strings are held by the manager of the show. When he pulls the strings they jump. They do just what he wants them to do.

* * * * *

Down in the State of Kentucky the miners have been digging coal way underground, at the daily risk of their lives, working for long hours—10 and 12 hours a day. Instead of getting extra high wages for slaving under very terrible conditions—sometimes bent over double, sometimes working in water, sometimes becoming unconscious from the bad air in the mines—these coal diggers get hardly any wages at all. When they get back to their leaky shacks after a hard day's work, they would find the children had not been able to go to school because they had no clothes, that the baby was sick because there was no milk, and there was nothing to eat for supper except the same old potatoes, pinto beans, and corn-bread.

The miners and their wives were angry that wages were so low and conditions so bad. Almost every miner thought to himself, "This can't go on. I must do something to get food and clothes for the wife and kids." But they didn't know just what to do. Then last summer a group of Kentucky miners went to a big convention of the National Miners Union in Pittsburgh and then they said: "This won't go on! We will do something!" Other miners in Kentucky heard about the National Miners Union and pretty soon, instead of each one thinking to himself what he would do, they were all thinking together what they would do. They decided to build up a strong union—and strike against starvation. And they did. The men of each mine organized a union local of that mine. And the women organized branches, too. And so did the children. On January 18 thousands of miners, helped and encouraged by their wives and kids, came out on strike.

* * * * *

Here's where the puppet show comes in. Try to imagine that every newspaper all over the State of Kentucky is represented by one of those little wooden dolls. Try to imagine that all the churches are represented by another, and that all the judges, county, and district attorneys, policemen, and deputy sheriffs, are represented by other dolls. Attached to each one of these dolls is a string, and the strings are held in the hands of a big fat manager of the show, representing the coal operators.

When this show manager heard the voices of the miners growing louder and louder, saying they were organizing and going to strike, he got purple in the face from rage. "How dare my slaves interfere with my profits!" he howled. "How dare they! I'll show them who's boss around here!" And he quickly pulled one of the strings.

Typewriters began to click, and every newspaper all over Kentucky began to grind out: "The Kentucky miners are Russian Reds. They will destroy the property of the rich. They will break up the home. They must be driven out, arrested, or killed."

Then he pulled another string, and from every church all over Kentucky shrill voices screeched: "Outside agitators have come into our fair southland, upsetting the peace and harmony the miners were enjoying. Communism is a slimy serpent. It aims to destroy the churches (where we get a good fat living). It says there is no God. These foreigners who dare to demand higher wages for our contented working class must be driven out, arrested, killed."

Then he pulled some more strings, and all the policemen, deputy sheriffs, and underworld characters, arrived with high-powered rifles and machine guns. They swarmed to wherever the miners were, shouting, "There'll be no meetings.

No more speeches. We've come to shoot down women and children. Anyone trying to meet or speak, for the National Miners Union, Workers International Relief, or International Labor Defense, must be driven out, arrested, or killed."

Then he pulled another string, and every potbellied judge all over Kentucky solemnly nodded his head, and said: "We must protect our property. We must protect our profits. A drop of Kentucky blood is worth more than all the Reds in the world. The electric chair is too good for them. They should be lined up against a wall and shot. Guilty. Guilty. Slam 'em all in jail. Give them 21 years." He pulled another string, and the Governor said, "Amen." * * *

The Kentucky miners, whose ancestors were early American settlers, had believed what they read in the papers. Now they were surprised to find they had suddenly become Russian Reds. "If organizing and striking against starvation and terror is being a Red, I guess I am a Red," they said. Many of them had thought that the law was "for rich and poor alike."

Now they saw different. And they had an idea that when the United States Constitution guaranteed them the rights of free speech and free assemblage, that they had a right to meet and speak. They were surprised and they began to think. And then they saw that there were two sides; that they, and their wives and kids—all workers, were on one side. And that on the other side were the coal operators, mill owners, and all the other capitalists, together with the governors, judges, city, State, and Federal authorities. Together with the newspapers, churches, schools, and the law. And they saw that all these were linked up together, and all were part of the same thing.

When workers and their kids think that clearly, and see that clearly, it is pretty good thinking. And when enough of us do, we will give that puppet show such a sock, it will be smashed to smithereens, and we will give the fat manager of the show, Mr. Capitalist, such a big kick in the middle of his system, that he'll see the workers have come into their own. And they will have.

Mr. JOHNSON. I have here also another cartoon and an article, the subject of which is. Next Time It Will Be Different, by Martha Campion, the picture by Walter Quirt. The cartoon shows—

Mr. SCHERER. Will you excuse me just a minute? Do you know anything about the background of the author and the—

Mr. JOHNSON. Martha Campion was a member of the Young Communist League.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know anything about the cartoonist?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not recall at this particular time.

Mr. SCHERER. Go ahead, I am sorry.

Mr. JOHNSON. This cartoon shows a capitalist behind whom stands a priest and another individual shouting, "War, War, War," There is also in the cartoon a picture, "Give 'til it hurts," an attempt to sell Liberty bonds to a student with a worker lying prostrate on the ground.

The moral of this cartoon is self-evident, but clearly indicates that the priest is a supporter of war and of capitalism which, according to the Communists, breeds war, and that the only thing that a worker can get out of it is death on the battlefields. In this way they inject their antireligion poison in the tender minds of children between the ages of 10 and 16. Once the religious convictions of a child are destroyed, it is very easy to indoctrinate them in the Communist philosophy of hate.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have in my hand a photostatic copy of page 267, of New Pioneer, April 1934, containing an article entitled "Next Time It Will Be Different," by Martha Campion, which has just been testified to, marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 3," and I should like to offer this into evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. It may be received.

(The document entitled "Next Time It Will Be Different" was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 3.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 3

(New Pioneer, April 1934, page 267)

NEXT TIME IT WILL BE DIFFERENT

By Martha Campion

(Picture by Walter Quirt)

"Do you remember anything about the last war, Jean?" some Pioneers asked their comrade leader while they were waiting for their meeting to begin.

"I was pretty young," responded Jean, "but I remember a few things about it."

"Tell us," urged the Pioneers. "Did the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts really do so much to help the war? And what did the other boys and girls do?"

"Well, they did plenty. Suppose I tell you just what I remember. I guess the first thing was the reelection of President Wilson. My father said one night, 'Well, I've been a Republican all my life, but I'm voting for Wilson. He kept us out of war.'"

"The fathers of most of the girls and boys I knew voted for Wilson, too. One girl's father voted for Hughes, and we used to tease her by saying, 'I guess you want a war if you vote for him. You ought to vote for Wilson because he kept us out of war.'"

"Of course, we didn't know that there was no difference between Hughes the Republican and Wilson the Democrat. We didn't know that both parties were backed by the bosses and both would have to do what the bosses wanted.

"The bosses and (sic) been been preparing for war for a long time, but we didn't know that either. I remember when I was in the first grade we used to march around the room with flags over our shoulders singing a song that went like this:

"Soldier boy, soldier boy, where are you going
Waving so proudly the red, white, and blue?
I'm fighting for my country where duty calls me
If you'll be a soldier boy, you may come too."

"And, of course we all learned the American Creed and all that.

"The next thing I remember is this. One day in April—a day like today—I went to the corner to get the daily newspaper. I brought it back to our porch where my mother was sitting with the baby on her lap. I spread the paper out on the porch and lay down on my belly to read it. Usually I read the comics first and stopped there, but this day the big letters on the front page caught my eye. I spelled out the headlines aloud:

United States Declares War on Germany

"I was so intent on spelling out the words, that they didn't mean anything to me. They were just so many words I could read. But when my mother heard me, she jumped up and exclaimed 'You're joking.'"

"I was surprised. How could I be joking about something I didn't even understand?"

"Give me that paper,' she said. Then I began to realize how important this headline was.

"Then I remember how it was in school during the war. We sang war songs in assembly every morning. All about how the American soldiers were going to kill all the Germans.

"Our teachers called the Germans 'Huns.' They told us how their (sic.) nailed little babies to barn doors and made their mothers sit and watch them die. They told us all sorts of horrible stories about the Germans, and we all believed them. Of course, we realize now * * *."

Mr. JOHNSON. Once religion is destroyed in the minds of youngsters between the ages of 10 and 16, it is very easy for the Communist Party to indoctrinate them in their philosophy of hate, and they do this very cleverly.

I have here a cartoon taken from the New Pioneer, April 1933, signed Lou Freeman, in which there is a capitalist hanging from a

tree, alongside of which are the following words: "Not long from now the bourgeoisie will all be hanging from a tree."

In other words, they are instilling in the minds of these youngsters the commission of murder, of lynching.

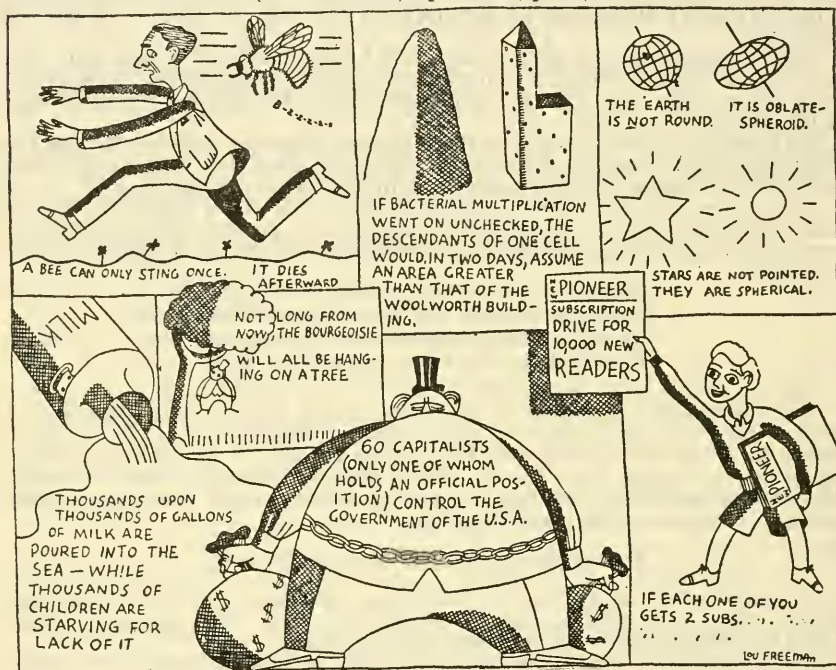
Mr. KUNZIG. The cartoon from the New Pioneer, page 15, of April 1933, which has just been testified to, I have in my hand and is Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 4, and I ask that it be admitted into evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. It may be so admitted.

(The cartoon referred to was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 4.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 4

(New Pioneer, April 1933, p. 15)



Page 15

Mr. JOHNSON. I have here an article and cartoon from the New Pioneer, February 1935. The subject of the article is, We Won't Be Fooled Again, story by Helen Zunsner, Z-u-n-s-e-r. This cartoon shows a huge capitalist, alongside of whom is standing representatives of the clergy and the militarists. Between his legs, the capitalist's legs, is a rabble rouser. In another cartoon alongside of this is a cartoon of the capitalists, the clergy, and the military fleeing from the revolt of the workers and the farmer. The moral of the story is that the ministers, the capitalists, and the military and their spellbinders create war. They created the last war, and they will create war again, and only the revolt of the masses of workers and farmers against them will be able to defeat their plans for another war—in other words, will turn the war into a civil war and overthrow the Government like the workers did in Soviet Russia.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a photostatic copy of, *We Won't Be Fooled Again*, from the *New Pioneer* of February 1935, marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 5," and I ask respectfully, sir, that this be admitted into evidence.

Mr. SCHERER. It may be so admitted.

(The photostatic copy of *We Won't Be Fooled Again* was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 5.)¹

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further illustrations of Communist attempts to influence the minds of children?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I have.

This is an article written by Alan Potamkin. The subject of the article is, *St. Peter's Out*.

The cartoon in the picture, most interesting, shows young boys dressed in football clothes attacking a Jewish rabbi, a minister, and a nun, and a policeman. The conclusion of the article has a doleful ditty:

The game was played on Sunday in old St. Peter's yard. Jesus was the full-back and the Holy Ghost the guard. Tommy tried to butt us, but he got butted just too hard.

This is the sort of stuff that the Young Communist League and the Young Pioneers have circulated to youths between the ages of 10 and 16.

I have several other articles and cartoons along this same line that I would like to introduce into the record.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me ask you this, Mr. Johnson: If I am correct in assuming that the purpose of your testimony in referring to these articles and cartoons is to indicate that children who would accept this type of propaganda could not possibly accept the teachings of any of our major religions?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct. The whole purpose is to destroy religion among the youngsters and to prepare them for indoctrination of the whole program of the Communist Party.

As I said before, the philosophy of hate—and I would like to say here that I was reading a ditty that was published along this line which goes on to say:

In '17 we went to war; in '17 we went to war; in '17 we went to war—we're wiser now in '34. It's time to turn those guns the other way.

In bosses' war the worker gets—in bosses' war the worker gets—in bosses' war the worker gets—a belly full of bayonets. It's time to turn those guns the other way.

This is the antithesis of Christian charity, teaching the youngster to disbelieve in God and at the same time indoctrinating him in hate and murder.

Mr. SCHERER. You arrived at those conclusions which you have just given the committee not only from the articles you have just read from and which have been introduced in evidence, but from your long and intimate experience in the Communist Party itself, is that right?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; during the period that I was a leader in the Communist Party, I assisted in the sale and distribution and circulation of these magazines, and I was fully aware of the content of them at that particular time, and I know that they were spread far and wide,

¹ For Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 5, see frontispiece, p. vi.

but what is most significant is that those children were youngsters at that time, and they are today grown men and women.

Mr. SCHERER. I assume, Mr. Johnson, that your realization of the damage which you were doing by participating in these types of activities was one of the reasons that caused you to leave the party, am I correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct, it was one of the reasons, and I happened to run across a letter that was written by a young girl to the Young Pioneer and published in the Pioneer magazine that really made me ashamed of some of the work that I assisted in doing during the time that I was in the party. I would like to read this letter.

Mr. SCHERER. You may read it.

Mr. JOHNSON (reading) :

The church keeps the workers in the dark. I have tried to get more subscribers to the New Pioneer, but the people have given their last penny to the great faker which is the church. I told them and argued with them that the Pioneer is the best and truest magazine published. I have the children on my side, but when the parents ask the children what the magazine is and they tell their parents, the parents say, "Oh, so, the magazine doesn't say anything about the holy church of God. Well, then, you cannot buy that magazine." These people are still in the dark. They would rather starve than fight for their rights. They go to church every day and keep fasting. They are always fasting or starving. Instead of helping the working class, they help keep the preacher or priest or Pope rich, but I'll try to show them.

Signed, Anastasia Dimitruck, Alliance, Ohio.

Mr. SCHERER. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, before we go any further in taking this testimony, I would like at this point to offer into evidence the article from the New Pioneer of December 1931, entitled, "St. Peter's Out," which was testified to a few moments ago. It is listed as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 6, and I now offer it into evidence.

Mr. SCHERER. It may be so received.

(The article from the New Pioneer entitled "St. Peter's Out" was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 6.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 6.

(New Pioneer, December 1931, pp. 10 and 11)

ST. PETER'S OUT

Another Story of the Striker's
Boys Club of the Neck

By Harry Alan Potamkin
Illustrated by Philip Reisman

The carmen needed money for kitchens to feed their women and kids. It was a cold winter. And the strike was hard. The Strikers Boys' Club of the Neck challenged the Northeast Pioneers from the textile district to a football game, all receipts to the kitchen fund. The game was scheduled for Sunday at the ball field on the Dump, the lower end of the Neck. The girls roasted wieners, snuggled them in cozy soft rolls, and beautified them with mustard—a meal for a nickel—and a tin cup of coffee, another jitney. The profit went to the kitchen fund which the women and girls handled.

A city ordinance prohibited a charge for admission to games played on Sunday. The boys got around this by printing "invitations" to a football game for the striking carmen's kitchen fund. No admission charged. But two bits accepted "as a sign of solidarity." And every one who "accepted" the "invita-

tion" showed his solidarity. Except the delegation from St. Peter's Parish Church and Parochial School.

There had been tall doings in the Catholic school. The former Huckleberries, now part of the Strikers Boys' Club, had attended St. Peter's until the principal, Father Thomas, called Peeping Tom because he always spied on the boys got up one day and called the strikers "tools of the devil." Dan Maloney rose and yelled: "Then we'll go to the devil" and all the Hucks walked out and never returned. Peeping Tom gathered Rabbi Isaacs of the Shalom Synagogue and the Reverend Muddle of the Baptist Church and they held a public meeting to bring the strikers "to their senses." Well, the strikers came to their senses mighty quick. They attended the meeting in a body and one after another their representatives—Irish, Jewish, German, Italian, Polish, Russian, American—rose to ask Peeping Tom and "Father" Isaacs and "Rabbi" Muddle—one was the same as the other—to answer a few simple questions:

Were they serving God in calling this meeting? And who was God serving? Were they getting telephone messages from Mr. God, of the Rapid Transit Co.? Were they well fed? And by whom? And from whose earnings did their wages come? Should the starving workers wait until judgment day or should they make their own judgment day?

Why were the three churches joined tonight on the same platform and yet in the schools and the four walls of their churches they were doing everything to split the strikers' ranks, Jew against Christian, Irish against German, Polish against Russian?

Priest and rabbi and minister didn't want the strikers to do "violence." Did that mean they didn't want the workers to defend their rights? And why didn't these three protest the violences of the Rapid Transit?

R. T. stood for Rapid Transit, and for Rotten Treatment, and didn't it stand also for Religious Tommyrot?

The answers didn't satisfy the strikers. And the boys went on advertising the game. The Northeast Pioneers drove down in buses and wagons. They brought with them their mascot, Buck, a battling billy goat. Bands of boys and girls marched to the game afoot—red flags flying and brave voices singing:

"We are the young fighters
Whose battle flag is red.
We are the young fighters
Who know no fear or dread."

At 2 p. m. the crowd had filled every seat and sat on the roof of the stand and on the fences. It was a great sight. At 2:30 the game was to start. The crowd was eager. But just as the game was about to start an uninvited delegation entered—Father Thomas, Rabbi Isaacs, and Reverend Muddle with a host of school bullies and old maids.

Father Thomas walked to the midfield and called out: "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I forbid this desecration of the Lord's day."

Dan Maloney picked up the referee's megaphone and shouted: "In the name of the mother, the sister, and the holy smoke, I declare this day closed to R. T."

The crowd rose and laughed and cheered.

Rabbi Isaacs jumped in to say something, but Izzy Moore forestalled him by introducing "the Pope."

Father Muddle got out in the middle, and got all muddled up. He began to stutter. A little Italian girl, very innocent, went up to him and asked him would he buy a hotdog, mustard and all?

The old maids with the delegation were very angry. They hurried off the field in a fluster. But the bullies gathered around Father Thomas, Rabbi Isaacs, and the Reverend Muddle, and stood there, husky, tough-looking young men. Father Thomas harangued the crowd: "This is the work of the devil. You are being led astray by infidels. You are unpatriotic."

The crowd rose in anger. "Get out of here, you hypocrite," they yelled.

One of the bullies put a whistle to his mouth and in ran a regiment of police. The crowd's disgust and rage became even greater.

The police lieutenant walked up to the clergymen. "Well?" he asked. Father Thomas pointed to Dan Maloney, Rabbi Isaacs to Izzy Moore, and the Reverend Muddle to Phil Blake, captain of the Northeast Pioneers. The three boys saw the trick and ran into the grandstand. The bullies went after them, but the boys beat them off with the help of the spectators. Father Thomas advanced. And as he approached the grandstand Buck, the Northeast goat, trotted out of the dugout, saw Peeping Tom's fat seat, and sailed directly for a touchdown. Such

laughter was never heard before in the four corners of the world. When the priest arose he was Peeping Tom, indeed. Two blinking eyes peeped through a face masked with mud. The priest roared: "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I demand the arrest of everyone."

At that even the police lieutenant began to laugh. "We'll compromise," he said, "we'll arrest the ringleaders." He turned to the boys in homemade uniforms: "Who's the ringleader?"

Thirty voices answered "Me."

The police lieutenant's face reddened. "Well, I'll be damned if I won't pull you all in." No sooner did he say this than Dan Maloney threw the pigskin into the air and Phil Blake went for it. The 30 boys, 2 teams and 6 substitutes, suddenly piled in a heap on—

When the heap had scattered into the grandstand on the muddy ground lay a police lieutenant, face downward. Distributed through the grandstand sat 27 boys in their daily clothes. Three of the 30 were on their way home in a battered tin lizzie. The lieutenant rose and shook his fist in the priest's face. "This was all a trick of yours."

Rabbi Isaacs came up to the two. "We'd better leave."

Father Muddle said, "And we'd better keep it quiet. If the papers should hear of this."

The papers did. That is, the strikers' special newspaper wrote it up. And the Strikers Boys' Club sang a doleful ditty:

"The game was played on Sunday in old St. Peter's yard,
Jesus was the fullback and the Holy Ghost the guard.
Tommy tried to butt us—but he got butted just too hard."

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson also testified, Mr. Chairman, with respect to three other documents which he had which illustrated the same point of Communist control of the minds of youth.

I therefore now offer into evidence in a group three of these documents marked "Manning Johnson Exhibits Nos. 7, 8, and 9."

Mr. SCHERER. They may be so received.

(The three documents referred to were received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibits Nos. 7, 8, and 9.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 7

(New Pioneer, October 1934, p. 10)

A BELLY FULL OF BAYONETS

In '17 we went to war
In '17 we went to war
In '17 we went to war
We're wiser now in '34
It's time to turn those guns the other way.

In bosses' wars the worker gets
In bosses' wars the worker gets
In bosses' wars the worker gets
A belly full of bayonets
It's time to turn those guns the other way.

In the next war, if the boys and girls who attended the New York City Children's Conference Against War and Fascism have anything to do with it, the bosses who make the war will get their belly full of bayonets.

And I expect these boys and girls will have something to say about it. There were 228 of them, including visitors, and when Dr. Treadwell Smith, chairman of the New York City League Against War and Fascism, asked how many of them were going to organize their friends and schoolmates into clubs to fight war and fascism, they all raised their hands.

It was a fine conference. Would you like to know what organizations were there? Well, there were the Pioneers, the IWO Juniors, the children's section of the Russian National Mutual Aid Society, the Nature Friends Scouts, the Jewish Schools, the Finnish Federation Pioneers, the Young Defenders, the Grand Street Settlement House, the Pioneer Youth of America, a Boy Scout

troop, a Free Food Fighters Club, the Bronx Busy Bees, and the recreation rooms of some settlement houses.

Here is what happened at the meeting. Dr. Treadwell Smith gave a talk about why children should fight against war and fascism, and then the delegates asked lots of questions, which Dr. Smith and other delegates answered. There were questions about the causes of war and others about the best ways of organizing against war. The American League is preparing a program of action for its children's section. If you want to make any suggestions to them, you should write to the Children's Committee Against War and Fascism at 413 Fourth Avenue, New York City, N. Y. They would be very glad to hear from you and to get your ideas.

After the questions came a very interesting part of the program. Del, the Daily Worker cartoonist, gave a short talk and then a chalk talk.

Del told how he was a Boy Scout living in Paris in the last war. He used to hear the French soldiers marching to war singing how they were going to "make sausages out of the Germans." When his family had to leave Paris because the fighting was coming too close, Del saw these soldiers returning from war, looking like chopped meat themselves. In England, airplanes dropped shells right across the street from his home. Then he came to America, and on the way the ship came near being blown up by a submarine.

Del wondered how people could say the war was glorious, but not knowing any better, he joined the Boy Scouts over here and sold more Liberty bonds and war savings stamps than any other boy in his class. "I was proud of it then, but I'm ashamed of it now," said Del, "because it helped the bosses continue the war, and more workers were killed and hurt for the profits of Morgan."

Then Del appealed to all the delegates to join and form organizations to fight hard against war and fascism before they come.

Next month we are going to tell you about the program of action the delegates will start to carry out. But don't wait for that. Tell your leaders and parents and the branch of the American League in your city that you want a city conference of children against war and fascism right away. Send invitations to the Boy Scouts, settlement houses, and all children's clubs. Then write in and tell the New Pioneer about it.

And, by the way, you can get some good ideas from reading about the big second congress of the American League Against War and Fascism, and the Youth Congress, to be held September 28, 29, and 30, in the Daily Worker. This congress will take place in Chicago. It will be very interesting and very important, for delegates representing hundreds of thousands of people will be there. This is the most important thing that's happening this month. Don't miss the reports of it in the Daily.

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 8

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT NO. 8
(New Pioneer, October 1931)

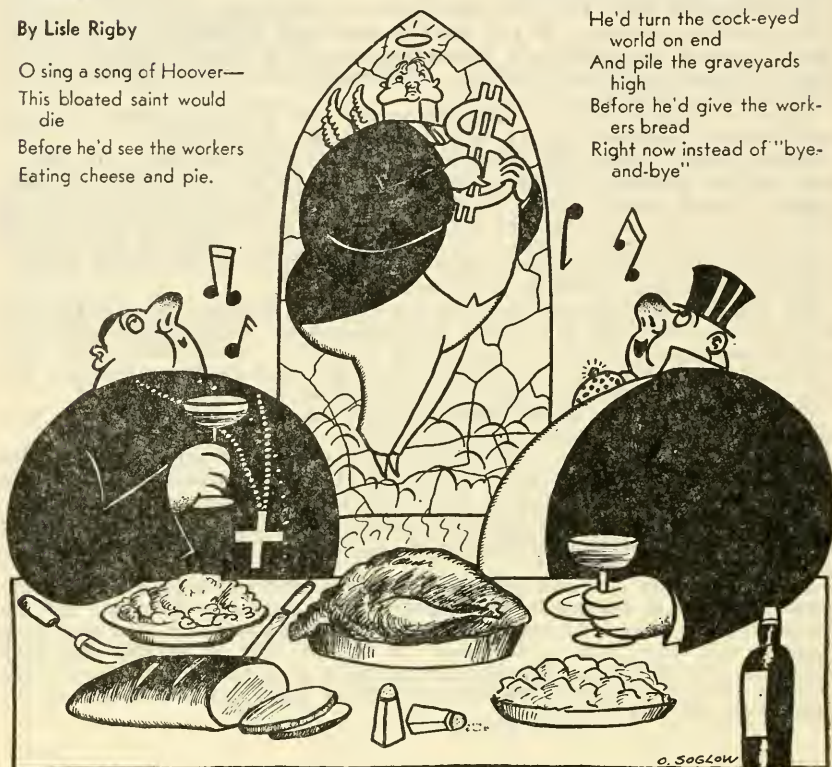
Rimes

By Lisle Rigby

O sing a song of Hoover—
This bloated saint would
die
Before he'd see the workers
Eating cheese and pie.

Drawing by Otto Soglow

He'd turn the cock-eyed
world on end
And pile the graveyards
high
Before he'd give the work-
ers bread
Right now instead of "bye-
and-bye"



MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 9

(New Pioneer, February 1935, pp. 8 and 9)

LITTLE LEFTY REPORTS ON THE WORKERS' CONGRESS

By "Del"

Well gee whiz, I don't know where to start. So many exciting things happened in those 3 days of January 5, 6, and 7, that I'm kind of mixed up. I guess I'll begin by telling you about the special train that took the delegates to Washington from New York.

In Pennsylvania Station there were hundreds of delegates. At about midnight they let us through the gates and we all hopped on the train. We got seats and in a few moments the trainmaster blew the whistle and hollered "All aboard." All of a sudden I got a big lump in my throat. I thought of Mom and Pop, of Peanuts and Spunky wagging his tail and it seemed I was leaving them far behind. Then I reminded myself that I was only going away for a few days, and I felt a little better.

On the train it was just like old home week. Everybody seemed to know everybody else, and if you didn't it made no difference. You just spoke to anyone you liked and it seemed you had known the person for years. I guess it's because everyone had the same feelings about the Congress.

In spite of the singing and joking the train got me drowsy and I fell fast asleep. When I woke up Uncle John was carrying me out of the train, into Union Station in Washington, D. C. Along with some 18 or 20 others we went into a restaurant to get some coffee. I suppose you've heard about how they refused to serve the two Negro delegates with us. Well, the rest of us ordered great big meals and after they were placed in front of us we didn't touch them and walked out without paying, as a protest against the boss' dirty Jim Crow ideas. Well, you should have seen this guy's face. It went the color of one of his tablecloths. Ha! Ha! Excuse me but I gotta laugh when I just think of it.

When we got to Washington Auditorium, we got a swell breakfast. Then the Congress started in earnest. Herbert Benjamin, the national secretary of the unemployment councils, told about the whole history of the fight to get unemployment relief through House Resolution 2827 (it used to be H. R. 7598). It's a swell idea. In case a worker gets thrown out of work through no fault of his own the Government pays him \$10 a week and \$3 extra for each one who depends on him, like his wife and kids. And the bosses have to foot the bill.

Of course, everyone knew that the bosses would never give this out of their own big hearts and would fight it, but the speakers explained that we were there to make plans how to fight for our right to live.

When the session closed we went into the lobby and there I saw cowboys and sharecroppers, lumberjacks and farmers, and one big strapping delegate who looked, spoke, and dressed like Daniel Boone. They seemed like they had stepped out of the pages of my history book.

The most exciting part of the convention was when Earl Browder, the Secretary of the Communist Party, got through speaking. First he said that we were not in Washington to kidnap the President like they had in the papers—and did everybody laugh.

When he got through speaking everybody got up and sang Solidarity. What a thrill ran up and down my spine.

On the last day, we went to see Secretary Perkins. Of course she was "not in". So we spoke to her secretary, Edward McGrady. Ann Burlak led the delegation and introduced a mother in the coal-mining region who told about how it was impossible for her to properly care for her children, and asked McGrady to support our unemployment insurance bill.

This McGrady guy thought he was putting over a fast one and very sympatheticlike says "Leave me your name and address and I'll send you a book on how to feed your children." Well, you should have seen Ann Burlak snap out that we couldn't squeeze food and milk out of his books.

After that the Congress wound up and we went back to Union Station and took the next train back for home. Believe me, these were the three most thrilling days of my life.

Of course, the fight for unemployment insurance is just beginning. We all have lots of work to do. I asked Uncle John if kids could help and he said, "Sure." So I'm helping, and I hope you all are too.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Mr. Johnson, I think it is important at this point to ask, during the time that you were an active member of the Communist Party, whether you were an atheist. Is that right?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, I was not. I hid my religion. I committed the grievous sin of hiding it. I outwardly accepted the atheistic anti-religious program of the Communists, but secretly in my heart I retained my religious convictions. Of course, that was an awful struggle, an internal struggle, a struggle between two different and opposing philosophies, the philosophy of charity and the philosophy of hate. Sometimes I wonder how I did that tightrope walking.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, since you have left the party, however, you are no longer, I believe, hiding your religion?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, I am not.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a member of a church?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I joined a Baptist Church in New Jersey several years ago. Of course, time has not permitted me to attend the services, but I do attend church services in New York regularly, though I have not connected myself with a church in New York.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, we have had extensive testimony here concerning the New Pioneer. That publication, if my information is correct, stopped coming out in about 1938, is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, about 1938.

Mr. KUNZIG. If it lies within your knowledge, is there any publication today with Communist influence behind it attempting also to influence the minds of youth?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, there is, the publications of the International Workers' Order, the organization through which the Young Pioneer movement functions today.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, the IWO is presently involved in court proceedings in the State of New York. I know the case is still going on, but there were various stays issued by judges preventing the organization in some ways from functioning. Do you mean to say that still today this type of propaganda is being put out through the organization at this very moment?

Mr. JOHNSON. My understanding is that it is.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is an amazing thing, sir; and I think the record should show this information.

Mr. Johnson, during the period of your membership in the Communist Party was there ever any deviation from the basic antireligious line?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, there was never any deviation from the basic antireligious line.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was there a change of tactical application of this antireligious policy?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, there was. There was a change in the tactical application of the Communist Party's antireligious policy. This tactical change was made in 1932, if I recall correctly, when I was present at a meeting of the national committee of the Communist Party in New York, at which time Earl Browder made a speech to the committee in which he said that our aim should be to draw the religious element into the movement before we convinced them to become atheists.

In other words, to reverse the old policy of convincing the worker and farmer to become an atheist before he became active in the Communist Party movement. As Browder put it, that old policy was like putting the cart before the horse.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, if you cannot completely destroy religion, would you say that the correct phraseology would be that it is best to attempt to infiltrate it first and then later destroy it?

Mr. JOHNSON. I would say that the policy then was to first get the worker and the farmer involved in Communist activities, and in the course of his involvement in these activities you steadily indoctrinate him in the antireligious philosophy of the Communist Party. This was contrary to previous procedure where the Communist first approached the average worker and farmer with an antireligious program and policy. The result was that the Christian worker was antagonized, and there was built up a wall of resistance between the party and the religious element in America, and the new policy was for the purpose of breaking down this wall of resistance and getting the Christian element in, thereby getting the Communist Party out of the rut of sectarianism in which it had fallen.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, I note that you just mentioned the date of 1932, and some of your previous examples of antireligious propaganda went much further, into 1935 and 1936. Can you explain just what the policy was?

Mr. JOHNSON. There is no contradiction there. The Communist Party did both. They continued their antireligious propaganda and at the same time they revised their tactical approach toward the Christian element in order to get them in. Once they got them in, they continued to indoctrinate them in their antireligious program.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was known as the united front, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. The united front was a development of a new tactical line by the Communist International in 1935. This new tactical line was developed at the seventh world congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1935. Georgi Dimitrov, general secretary of the Communist International, presented this new tactical line to the seventh world congress.

Now, the essence of it was to infiltrate churches, trade unions and all other organizations through the process of involving them into a so-called united front on the basis of a program presented to them by the Communist Party.

Now, the united front was a coalition or an alliance of the church, trade unions, farm and youth and women's organizations of the Communist Party, under Communist Party leadership and for the promulgation of the Communist Party program. It was a step in the formation of a people's front government, which of course is a form of transition to proletarian revolution and the seizure of power in a given country. As Dimitrov said, the united front is useful, but the final salvation is in a socialist revolution. The united front is used for revolutionary training of the masses.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you explain the phrase "outstretched hand of communism?"

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I can. The outstretched hand was the new united-front policy of the Communist International applied all over the world. It was the extension of the hand of friendship and cooperation to the church, while in the other hand holding a dagger to drive through the heart of the church. In other words, it was a ruse whereby they could get the churches involved in united-front activities with the Communists so that the Communists could bring to the religious element in America their antireligious program. In other words, to educate the masses in the revolutionary program and policy of the Communist Party, to prepare them ideologically and organizationally for the overthrow of the Government of the United States.

I have here some documents that I would like to introduce into the record at this point. First, I have here the Communist, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party, in which there is an article, The United Front, the Key to Our New Tactical Orientation, by Earl Browder.

I want to quote from pages 1076 and also 1077.

First, 1076:

The first argument said that by adopting a new tactical orientation the Communists are admitting whether they want to or not that their old tactical orientation was wrong and had to be changed because it was wrong. To this our answer is not at all. The seventh world congress formulated a new tactical line because new conditions have arisen, not because the old line was wrong. The Communists are Marxists, Leninists, Stalinists.

On page 1077:

And then another change, the proved inability of the bourgeoisie to overcome the collapse of capitalist stabilization, it proved inability to make any progress toward overcoming the final crisis of the capitalist system. * * * That is why the seventh world congress formulated the new tactical orientation which seized the final and irrevocable victory of socialism. The inability of the bourgeoisie to overcome the collapse of the capitalist stabilization and the growing urge of the struggle for socialism.

I would like to state in explanation of the foregoing quotation that Dimitrov clearly pointed out in his speech that the united front which is aimed at getting control of the churches is not a digression from the basic position of the Communist Party; that is, the struggle for revolution, the conquest of power, but merely a reconstruction of tactics in accordance with changing situation. It is the tactic to draw wide masses into revolutionary class struggle where the working people, both Christians and Jews, will be welded into a millionfold strong revolutionary army, led by the Communist International under the leadership of Stalin at that time.

Now, the tactics called for in the building of this united front were also brought out by Dimitrov. He calls attention in his speech to a story taken from Greek history in which he states, and I quote:

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls, and the attacking army, after suffering great losses, was still unable to achieve victory until, with the aid of the Trojan horse, it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp.

In other words, what he is saying is that if you cannot take over the churches by frontal attack, take them over by the use of deception and guile and trickery, and that is exactly what the Communists practice in order to infiltrate and subvert the church and prepare them for the day when they would come under the hierarchical and authoritarian control of Moscow.

The leaders of the Communist Party had an eye toward the millions of people in the churches, and this policy was designed specifically to reach the millions in the churches. Already as early as 1931 the Communist Party published a survey of the churches in the United States which was published by certain international pamphlets. In the pamphlet, *The Church and the Workers*, by Bennett Stevens, may be found a survey of the church, its membership, and its holdings. I would like to read into the record what the author has to say about the church.

Mr. KUNZIG. What year was this?

Mr. JOHNSON. This was published in 1931. The purpose of doing this is to show that already as early as 1931 the Communists had an eye toward the millions in religious organizations in America, and this survey was not prepared without instructions from the Communist Party, because when pamphlets of this kind, according to my knowledge and experience, are written and published, they are published under instructions of the top leadership of the Communist Party, both in America and abroad, because such pamphlets are sent to the Soviet Union where they are evaluated, and on the strength of them the policy for the Communist Party of America is formulated, and not only for America, but throughout the world.

This shows how many people in America are connected with the church, and this is not lost to the men who sit in the Kremlin and are formulating policy for the American party.

I quote:

The churches are effective propaganda agencies, for they reached a membership of 50 million persons in 1930. That capitalists are conscious of this fact is shown by the liberality of their donation to the churches. As one of his many contributions to the Episcopal Church, J. P. Morgan paid the expenses involved in publishing the revised Book of Common Prayer. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in addition to building a \$7-million church in New York, gives millions to Baptist colleges and other religious enterprises. In 1929 gifts to Protestant churches of the United States amounted to \$520 million. The churches are not spiritual institutions, but are in themselves powerful, wealthy, capitalist corporations, and as such have special church-property investments, and churches spent \$817 million in immediate expenses in 1926. Only a very slight portion of this went to benevolencies. The following table indicates the value of church property and expenses in some of the larger sects of the United States.

and then they go on to give an estimate of the value of church property in the United States.

Then the author goes on to say that religion cannot be reformed, whatever its doctrine and ritual, that it remains an agency by which the capitalist class enforces its control. The program of those who want to reform existing religion must therefore be rejected. The significance of this is that the party had already in 1931 seen the need of getting into the churches where 50 million Americans are, and this survey and surveys made after this one was made, constituted a very important factor in determining the Communist policy in infiltrating the churches and religious organizations.

Mr. SCHERER. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further documentary evidence, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I have. I have here a statement by William Z. Foster in the Communist, the theoretical magazine of the Communist Party, that I would like to submit in evidence.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have here, then, Mr. Chairman, pages 702 and 703, Secondary Aspects of Mass Organization by Foster in the Communist of August 1939, and I request that the marked paragraph be incorporated into the record at this point as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 10.

Mr. SCHERER. It may be so received.

(The marked paragraph on pages 702 and 703 of Secondary Aspects of Mass Organization was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 10.)

JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 10

(The Communist, August 1939, pp. 702 and 703)

SECONDARY ASPECTS OF MASS ORGANIZATION

(By W. Z. Foster)

* * * * *

B. RELIGION

Religion is another extremely important secondary aspect of American mass organization. Inevitably a social current so well organized and so deeply ingrained in the mind of the masses as religion has exerted a far-reaching effect

upon the people's mass organization of all types throughout their entire history. Political parties, trade unions, farmers' associations, fraternal orders, and the many other kinds of broad mass movements in which the toilers participate in huge numbers have been fundamentally influenced in various ways by this powerful force. The employers have tirelessly exploited religion to control the people's organizations and they have often been unwittingly aided by leftwing mistakes in dealing with it.

The numerous churches (and American bourgeois-democracy has served to multiply greatly the number of Protestant sects) have sedulously cultivated their causes within the mass organization, and the resultant conflicts, especially those between Protestants and Catholics, have at times been acute. Consequently, the employers have been alert to provoke such sectarian clashes. In the main, however, the spirit of democratic tolerance has prevailed and mass solidarity been preserved. In the great fraternal organizations (which, with duplications, are estimated to number 50,000,000 members, including many millions of workers and farmers) there is a wide split between Catholics and Protestants; but this is not the case in mass organizations generally. Thus, there are in the United States no Catholic trade unions and, in our time, no special political parties based upon religious lines.

The triumph of mass solidarity over religious sectarianism is a tribute to American democracy. Communists must ever be keen to cultivate the democratic spirit of mutual tolerance among the religious sects in the people's mass organizations. A still greater lesson for us to learn, however, is how to work freely with religious strata for the accomplishment of democratic mass objectives, while at the same time carrying on our basic Marxist-Leninist educational work. A very serious mistake of the American leftwing during many years, and one it would not have made had it understood Marx and Lenin, has been its attempt arbitrarily to wave aside religious sentiments among the masses. Reactionary forces have always known how to take advantage of this short-sighted sectarian error by instigating the religious masses against the leftwing. In recent years, however, the Communist Party, with its policy of "the outstretched hand," has done much to overcome the harmful leftwing narrowness of former years and to develop a more healthy cooperation with the religious masses of the people in building the democratic front.

Mr. JOHNSON. The success of the united-front policy enabled the Communist Party to come in contact with thousands of ministers and millions of people who make up their congregations all over the country. The fact that they were successful in the so-called outstretched-hand policy was clearly stated by Earl Browder in his book, *What Is Communism?* which has been mentioned before in my testimony.

On page 147 in that book he states, and I quote:

It is significant that the Communist Party, more than any other labor group, has been able to achieve successful united fronts with church groups on the most important issues of the day. This is not due to any compromise with religion as such on our part. In fact by going among the religious masses we are, for the first time, able to bring our antireligious ideas to them.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, you would say, would you not, Mr. Johnson, that on the basis of your personal experience and knowledge the united front is the medium through which people were educated to communism?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct. The united front is a school for communism. It is the instrument to bring the Communist Party program and policy to millions of people throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would it be correct to say that there actually was party recruiting through the united front?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, there was. The whole purpose of the united front was to bring the Communist Party into contact with millions of people from whom they had before been isolated in order to indoctrinate them, to educate them and train them in Communist policy and orient them along the path of revolutionary struggle.

Now, in the course of all these activities, recruiting the most militant, the most active, the most promising element into the Communist Party, sending them to schools and training them for leadership in the united-front movement.

I wish to introduce into the record an excerpt from the report to the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., on behalf of the central committee, by Earl Browder, general secretary.

Mr. KUNZIG. What date was that?

Mr. JOHNSON. May 1938.

In reference to the Communist training of persons involved in united-front activities, I quote:

We propose to make the education of our leading people, the Marxist-Leninist training, the central task of the whole party. It shall not be confined to the members of the central committee and State leaders, but extended to a broad new circle of leaders for the States and sections and for party leaders in the mass organizations, trade unions, youth, Negro, farm, cultural, women's, religious, national groups, and other organizations.

I would like to state that the main purpose of this educational process of religious leaders is for the overthrow of the Government of the United States. The party, according to my knowledge and experience, realized that without subverting the millions of persons in the church, revolution in the United States is unthinkable; it is impossible. For that reason a corps of trained persons was necessary who would be in a position to work successfully toward this end among the churchgoers. This was very clearly brought out in Fight magazine, for instance.

Now, Fight magazine was the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism. In the April 1934 issue, on page 34, it reads as follows:

This means that those who would use what resources are available in the churches to fight the development of fascism must be prepared to show the people in the churches that there is no way out under the profit system and that the only way they can get the better life that is within their reach is to take ownership and control out of the hands of the few, put it into the hands of the many, and develop a planned economy for the purpose of realizing the classless society. Then the emotions and ideals that will otherwise be misled by the Fascists will be directed to the defeat of the real enemy of the people—the capitalist system—and will be given a constructive outlet in the building of a new order.

To work at this task the American League Against War and Fascism needs to get members in all religious organizations.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, who was the chairman of this American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. JOHNSON. The Reverend Harry F. Ward.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know him personally?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you were a member of the Communist Party did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; he was a member of the Communist Party while I was a member.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you meet with him as such?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you characterize him as a prominent member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. I would say that he is the Red dean of the Communist Party in the religious field.

Mr. KUNZIG. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. JOHNSON. The training of leaders for work in the united front is of major importance to the success of the Communist Party's program. For that reason we had considerable discussions in the central committee and in the sections and districts and State committees of the Communist Party on methods of work among religious elements.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you participate in these discussions personally?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that what you are testifying to is a matter of your own personal experience and knowledge?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right, because I participated in these discussions on national and on lower levels in the Communist Party, and I would like to present to this committee the substance of some of these discussions that were aimed at educating the party members on how to work among the religious element.

I would first like to read to you what William Z. Foster has to say on this matter.

Communists must ever be keen to cultivate the democratic spirit of mutual tolerance among the religious sects in the people's mass organizations. A still greater lesson for us to learn, however, is how to work freely with religious strata for the accomplishment of democratic mass objectives, while at the same time carrying on our basic Marxist-Leninist educational work.

A very serious mistake of the American leftwing during many years, and one it would not have made had it understood Marx and Lenin, has been its attempt arbitrarily to wave aside religious sentiments among the masses. Reactionary forces have always known how to take advantage of this shortsighted sectarian error by instigating the religious masses against the leftwing. In recent years, however, the Communist Party with its policy of "the outstretched hand," has done much to overcome the harmful leftwing narrowness of former years and to develop a more healthy cooperation with the religious masses of the people in building democratic front.

Continuing along this line, the Communist leaders instructed us in the use of deceit in dealing with religious elements.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was deceit a major policy of Communist propaganda and activity?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, it was. They made fine gestures and honeyed words to the church people which could be well likened unto the song of the fabled sea nymphs luring millions to moral decay, spiritual death, and spiritual slavery.

An illustration of this treachery, I might point out, is smiling, sneaky Earl Browder, for example, who was vice chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, greeting and praising ministers and other church workers participating with him in the united front, antiwar activities, while secretly harboring in his heart only contempt for them and for the religion that they represented.

Now, in order to train others in the use of such deceit, he wrote, and I quote from *What is Communism?* 1936:

It is true that we have learned to be much more careful about the quality of our mass work in this field. We take pains not to offend any religious belief. We don't want to close the minds of religious people to what we have to tell them about capitalism, because of some remark or action offensive to their religion. We can well say that the cessation of ineffective, rude, and vulgar attacks upon religion is a positive improvement in our work.

Speaking along the same line Earl Browder had this to say in 1936:

But these critics do not understand that we Communists do not distinguish between good and bad religions, because we think they are all bad for the mass enthusiasm or lack of enthusiasm in religious worship.

We judge religious organizations and their leaders by their attitude to the fundamental social issues of the day. What church organization has so completely demonstrated its opposition to fascism and war as that of Father Divine? Other churches could very well follow his example. We would be delighted if thousands of other churches would support the workers' social insurance bill, the fight to free the Scottsboro boys, and would fight against Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, as the followers of Father Divine have done.

The major organizational form of the united front in which the churches were involved was the American League Against War and Fascism which has been headed by the Reverend Harry F. Ward. That organization was the key Communist Party front. There was no other Communist Party front in all of the solar system of organizations of the Communist Party that involved so many ministers, churches, and religious organizations. In fact, this organization was the key to the infiltration of the church, and as a result of the successful infiltration and penetration they were able to involve these ministers in every other Communist front through the years, even down to the present time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Undoubtedly the great, great number of ministers who were involved one way or another in this or other Communist-front groups were loyal citizens and fine, good, religious men who were completely duped; is that not true, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. There were quite a few of them who were duped, but the Communist clergymen and fellow travelers and those under Communist Party discipline were not duped. They were fully conscious and fully aware of what they were doing. They were the small minority that utilized their position to infiltrate and seek to subvert the majority of the clergy in the interests of the aims and objectives of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. KUNZIG. It was an example of a small minority attempting to influence, control, and use the majority of good, decent clergymen?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; that is true, because I know from my own experience in working in labor organizations, for example, that we had an organization with 10,000 members, and there were only about 60 or 70 Communists, and we controlled the organization. So with a small minority of ministers who work in an organized manner, they can always win over and subvert and dupe the majority who are disorganized and are individualistic.

Mr. SCHERER. Let us adjourn until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., the hearing recessed to 1:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 2:05 p. m. of the same day the proceedings were resumed, Representative Gordon H. Scherer being present.)

Mr. SCHERER. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. A few moments ago, Mr. Johnson, you mentioned the American League Against War and Fascism. I would like to direct your attention for a bit to this very vital and important organization so that the true picture of the true work of this organization may become clear on this record.

Would you explain to the committee how this group was organized, who headed it, and in general its purposes and functions?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I sat in on meetings of the national committee of the Communist Party in New York City. These were meetings of the national committee at which were discussed the formation of the American League Against War and Fascism. The substance of these discussions was that the Communist International had formed an organization known as the World Congress Against War. The head of that organization was Henri Barbusse, H-e-n-r-i B-a-r-b-u-s-s-e, a leader of the Communist Party of France and a confidante of Joseph Stalin.

The American party was instructed by the Communist International to form the American League Against War and Fascism. This organization was officially set up at the first United States Congress Against War, held in New York City in 1933. At that congress was Henri Barbusse, whom I have formerly mentioned, who directed and assisted in the setting up of this congress and this organization.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Henri Barbusse to be a Communist?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I did; and incidentally, I was introduced to him at that time in a top fraction meeting that was held prior to the opening of the congress. The policy of this particular front—that is, the American League Against War and Fascism—was to involve the religious organizations into Communist Party activities generally to exploit the tremendous antiwar and anti-Fascist sentiment that exists among the religious masses. That is the reason why, according to the discussions that took place in the national committee, that Harry F. Ward was selected to head the American League Against War and Fascism. The party conclusion was that because he was a minister, he would be able to draw in churches, and secondly, that he would be able to draw in labor because of his imposing record as a clergyman of some standing and note.

In other words, they considered him the ideal head for the organization. It was proven a good decision because the American League Against War and Fascism was able, through exploiting the antiwar and anti-Fascist sentiments among the clergymen and among church people generally to involve millions of people in supporting the program of the American League Against War and Fascism. I might say here that the majority of the American people generally are peace-loving people and are democratic people, and they are opposed to war and fascism, and that such a campaign as this has a tremendous appeal, a tremendous attraction, but when such a campaign like the one against war and fascism is used as a cover to attack our Government, our social system, our leaders, when it is used as a cover to attack our law-enforcement agencies and to build up mass hate against them, when it is used as a cover for the transmission of intelligence information to Soviet Russia, when it is used as a cover for Soviet espionage, when it is used as a cover for infiltration and subversion of our churches, seminaries, youth organizations, when it is used as a cover to undermine national security, when it is used as a cover to sabotage industry and transportation, when it is used to prepare and to influence and win over millions in support of the foreign policy of an alien government, namely, Soviet Russia, against our own country, when it is used as a cover to defend Communists, the sworn enemies of our great heritage, when it is used as a cover for preparing millions

of people ideologically and organizationally for the overthrow of the United States Government, then that is a different matter altogether.

That is the program as it was worked out in the central committee, and that was the program that was advocated by the American League Against War and Fascism when I was not only a member of it, but a member of the national committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, can you give us any evidence of how it was used to aid sabotage and in giving information to the enemy?

Mr. JOHNSON. Before I do that I would like to offer to the committee a photostat showing that I was a member of the national committee of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a photostatic copy here of Fight magazine, December 1935, page 2, which purports to show and does show Manning Johnson listed as a member of the national executive committee of the American League Against War and Fascism.

This document is marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 11," and I now offer it into evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. It may be so received.

(The photostatic copy of Fight magazine, December 1935, p. 2, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 11.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 11

(Fight, December 1935, p. 2)

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman

Robert Morss Lovett, vice chairman

Earl Browder, vice chairman

Lincoln Steffens, vice chairman

William P. Mangold, treasurer

Thomas R. Amlie

Rabbi Edward L. Israel

Israel Amter

Clarence Irwin

Roger Baldwin

Lela R. Jackson

Mrs. Clinton Barr

Manning Johnson

Max Bedacht

A. H. Johnston

Fred Biedenkapp

Rev. Herbert King

Charles Blome

Ernest Kornfeld

Ella Reeve Bloor

Corliss Lamont

John Bosch

James Lerner

LeRoy E. Bowman

E. C. Lindemann

Harry Bridges

Lola Maverick Lloyd

William Brown

Waldo McNutt

Mabel Byrd

Rev. J. A. Martin

Winifred Chappell

Rev. R. Lester Mondale

George A. Coe

Peter Onisick

Prof. George S. Counts

Samuel C. Patterson

Malcolm Cowley

D. R. Poindexter

H. W. L. Dana

Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr.

Dorothy Detzer

Henry Shepard

Margaret Forsyth

Tredwell Smith

Maurice Gates

Rev. William B. Spofford

Ben Gold

Maxwell S. Stewart

Paul L. Goldman

Louise Thompson

Rabbi Benjamin Goldstein

Alfred Wagenknecht

Dr. Israel Goldstein

Colston E. Warne

Mrs. Annie E. Gray

Louis Weinstock

Gilbert Green

James Wechsler

Clarence Hathaway

John Werlick

A. A. Heller

Richard Babb Whitten

Donald Henderson

Ella Winter

Harold Hickerson

Alex V. Wright

Roy Hudson

Charles Zimmerman

Langston Hughes

Mr. KUNZIG. May I also point out for the record that Dr. Harry F. Ward is listed as chairman; Lincoln Steffens, vice chairman; Robert Morss Lovett, vice chairman; Earl Browder, vice chairman, and William P. Mangold, treasurer.

Mr. SCHERER. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. KUNZIG. May I, Mr. Chairman, at this point hand to the witness exhibit 11, Johnson exhibit 11, which has this long list of members of the executive committee of the American League against War and Fascism, and ask him how many of these names he recognizes as people whom he knew to be members of the Communist Party. Will you please name them, sir?

Mr. JOHNSON. Dr. Harry F. Ward, Earl Browder, Israel Amter, Max Bedecht, Fred Biedenkapp, Ella Reeve Bloor, Harry Bridges, Winifred Chappell, H. W. L. Dana, Margaret Forsyth, Gilbert Green, Clarence Hathaway, A. A. Heller, Donald Henderson, Roy Hudson, Langston Hughes, Manning Johnson—of course, that is myself—James Lerner, Samuel C. Patterson, Henry Sheppard, Louise Thompson, Alfred Wagenknecht, Louis Weinstock, James Wechsler, Ella Winter.

Mr. KUNZIG. What period of time did this cover?

Mr. JOHNSON. This was in December 1935.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew all those people whose names you just gave to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like again to direct your attention to the question I asked you a few moments ago as to whether you had any proof of the fact that the American League Against War and Fascism conducted sabotage and also gave important material to a foreign government, namely, the U. S. S. R.?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I would like to read from Fight magazine, February 1935, page 14, which I would like to offer for the record later.

The league's program: No. 1. To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other material essential to the conduct of war through mass demonstrations, picketing, and strikes; to likewise withdraw the professionals from the service of the war machine and to enlist them in agitation and educational propaganda against war and every aspect of fascism.

In the Communist Party, may I explain, we had discussions of point No. 1, and it means that the workers in a given shop that is manufacturing war materials should be instructed to sabotage the manufacturer through strikes and other means in order to prevent the manufacture of munitions, and in cases where munitions have been manufactured and they are in transit—that is, they are being transported—to do everything within our power to prevent the transportation of military supplies. That would mean that if the Government of the United States were supplying arms to our allies, that is, the sinews of war, or for their own security, as our first line of defense, the Communist's duty was to sabotage such things; secondly, that in the event the United States was engaged in a war, that the workers in industry, both in the productive end and the transportation end, should sabotage the manufacture and the transportation of munitions, which, of course, you realize, would mean the complete and total defeat of the Government of the United States, or in the case of its allies, their defeat.

No. 2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding national recovery.

This particular section is a cover for Soviet espionage because they are requesting here that every worker employed in a munitions plant supply the league with information with regard to what kind of war materials were being produced there.

Now, I want to introduce here in substantiation of this a very important bit of information taken from Fight magazine to substantiate this particular point.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have a document marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 12," which is a photostatic copy of a page of Fight magazine entitled, "Hit Munition Makers," with appropriate maps attached thereto, and I should like to offer this evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 12.

Mr. SCHERER. It will be received.

(The photostatic copy of page from Fight magazine entitled "Hit Munitions Makers" was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 12.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 12

(Fight, February 1934, p. 11)

HIT MUNITION MAKERS

All the imperialist powers are feverishly preparing for war. In the United States thousands of factories that could turn out the necessities of life remain closed—15 million workers are jobless, 60 million are getting less than enough to live on—but approximately 17,000 factories are making war material. The imperialist governments are preparing a new blood bath for the workers and farmers.

Look at this map. To the right you can read the type of armaments manufactured in the various States. (The map is incomplete because the Government refuses to give out facts and figures on war preparations.) Now we shall list the names of some of the armament makers and the cities they are in:

Colt's Patent Firearm Co., Hartford, Conn. (machineguns, pistols, rifles, etc.);
 Remington Arms Co., Bridgeport, Conn. (firearms and ammunition);
 Winchester Repeating Arms Co., New Haven, Conn. (cartridges, firearms, etc.);
 Savage Arms Corp., Chicopee Falls, Mass., Norwich, Conn., Utica, N. Y.;
 Auto Ordnance Corp., New York City (portable automatic guns);
 Smith & Wesson, Springfield, Mass. (revolvers and pistols);
 Johnson's Arms & Cycle Works, Fitchburg, Mass. (small arms, cartridges, etc.);
 R. F. Sedgley, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa. (rifles and pistols);
 Pacific Arms Corp., San Francisco, Calif. (small arms and cartridges);
 Woodstock Manufacturing Co., Charleston, S. C. (light ordnance);
 Western Cartridge Co., East Alton, Ill. (shells, cartridges, etc.);
 Federal Cartridge Corp., Minneapolis, Minn. (shells, cartridges);
 King Powder Co., Cincinnati, Ohio (shells and cartridges);
 Atlas Powder Co., Wilmington, Del. (explosives);
 National Acme Co., Cleveland, Ohio (shells);
 Peters Cartridges Co., King Mills, Ohio (shells and cartridges);
 Hoffman & Bryan, Findlay, Ohio (torpedoes);
 E. I. du Pont de Nemours, Wilmington, Del. (explosives and gunpowder);
 Hercules Powder Co., Wilmington, Del. (explosives and gunpowder);
 Aerial Powder Co., Wilmington, Del. (machinegun parts);
 Chase Brass & Copper Foundry, Bridgeport, Conn. (material for cartridges);
 Arma Engineering, Brooklyn, N. Y. (range finders);
 Harrington & Richardson Arms Co., Worcester, Mass (arms, etc.);
 Kopper's Products Co., New Haven, Conn. (gas producing ovens);
 Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corp., Quincy, Mass. (war vessels and merchant ships);

Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., Newport News, Va. (warships) ;
 New York Shipbuilding Co., Camden, N. J. (war vessels) ;
 Bath Iron Works Corp., Bath, Maine (destroyers) ;
 Electric Boat Co., Groton, Conn. (submarines) ;
 Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., Kearney, N. J. (destroyers) ;
 United Drydock, Inc., Hoboken, N. J., Brooklyn, N. Y., Mariner's Island, S. I. N. Y. (destroyers) ;

Curtis-Wright Corp., Baltimore, Md., Wichita, Kans., St. Louis, Mo., Patterson, N. J., Bristol, Pa. (airplanes, bombing planes, transport planes, engines, and other equipment for military purposes) ;

Boeing Airplane Co., Seattle, Wash. (pursuit planes) ;

Pratt & Whitney, Hartford, Conn. (bombing planes).

We call upon the workers in these plants to get in touch with the American League Against War and Fascism, 112 East 19th Street, New York City, or with the branch of the league located in your city.

We call upon all workers everywhere you have information on the manufacture of war material to mail us in immediately the location of the plant, the type of war material made, and the number of workers employed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any specific comment you wish to make, Mr. Johnson, with regard to exhibit 12?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I have. Now, exhibit 12 shows a map of the United States, and on this map you will find the exact location and name of many firms making munitions in the United States. What is significant about this is summed up in the last two short paragraphs of instruction.

I quote:

We call upon the workers in these plants to get in touch with the American League Against War and Fascism, 112 East 19th Street, New York City, or with the branch of the league located in your city. We call upon all workers everywhere who have information on the manufacture of war material to mail us in immediately the location of the plant, the type of war material made, and the number of workers employed there.

I want to say in connection with this that when I was in the national training school of the Communist Party, one of my instructors was J. Peters, who was head of the Communist Party underground and the Communist Party espionage apparatus, and he informed us that all publications of all Communist-front organizations are sent to the Soviet Union for study and evaluation; two, that contacts made by the Communist Party, whether directly or through front organizations, are to be used to supply information of value to the Communist Party. This information given by these individual workers from these plants is sent in turn to the Soviet Union. The individual locally is contacted. He is eventually recruited into the Communist Party or in the Soviet espionage apparatus.

Now, he may be used to supply information because he believes idealistically that he is fighting against war and fascism, but in reality he is giving vital information to the Soviet Government for their intelligence estimate of our defense setup in America and for use in future wars against this country.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know J. Peters under any other name?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I knew him under the name of Blake and also under the name of Stevens, Alexander Stevens.

Mr. KUNZIG. These are vitally important statements that you are making before this committee today concerning the American League Against War and Fascism. I presume you are testifying that its leaders and particularly its chairman, Rev. Harry F. Ward, a member of the clergy, knew personally every one of these facts to which you

are testifying and were fully cognizant of the aims and purposes of this organization?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I do. This program was adopted at the congress against war and the program was widely printed in the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism known as Fight. The members and the leaders of the league had as their major task the spreading of this information through the sale and distribution of Fight magazine.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, how do you account for the large numbers of clergymen and religious organizations involved in this American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. JOHNSON. The majority of the ministers in the American League Against War and Fascism were involved by Harry F. Ward, and the organization which he was connected with, known as the Methodist Federation for Social Action; also the People's Institute of Applied Religion, and other Communist-front organizations operating in the religious world. The Methodist Federation for Social Service later became the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

This program was widely circulated throughout church organizations.

Mr. KUNZIG. How?

Mr. JOHNSON. Through the regular channels of the leagues that were formed all over the country in which the ministers played a leading, if not the leading, part.

Mr. KUNZIG. What leagues?

Mr. JOHNSON. The branches of the American League Against War and Fascism, and I would like to offer to the committee, to show this point, some of the information that I culled from the copies of Fight magazine through the years from the formation of the league up until it was abolished, showing the leading role that ministers played in the sale of this magazine Fight and in the promotion of this particular program.

Mr. SCHERER. Do I understand that there were branches of this league in most of the communities of the country?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; in most of the large communities and cities all over the country they had branches of the league, and you will note on the basis of the information that I am submitting to the committee that the leaders in practically every instance were members of the clergy.

Mr. SCHERER. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. KUNZIG. I have been handed a group of documents and quotations from various and sundry ministers throughout the United States of America which appear to be between the years of 1933 and 1939 as quoted in Fight, the magazine put out by the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. Chairman, I feel this material should be incorporated into the record at this point, and I would like to ask Mr. Johnson—and I want to make this 100 percent clear, sir—is the purpose of putting this material into the record at this point to show the extent of the activities of these various persons in the work of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; that is my purpose only.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that the only purpose at the present time?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; that is the sole purpose.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then, Mr. Chairman, with that clear in mind, I would like to recommend to you, sir, that this material be incorporated at this point into the record to show the activities and the extent of activities of the various individuals herein named in the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. SCHERER. Those documents will be made a part of the record for the sole purpose of indicating the activity of members of the clergy and others in the American League Against War and Fascism, which I understand has been cited as subversive and Communist-front organization by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1947 and 1948; by Attorney General Francis Biddle as early as 1942, and by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1939 and again in 1940.

(The material referred to is as follows:)

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, September 1935, p. 14:)

A huge rally in Harlem included a mammoth parade made up of Negroes, Italians, Philadelphia delegates, church groups, trade unions, and many other organizations. Rev. William Lloyd Imes was chairman and among the many speakers were A. Johnson of the Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia; Tito Nuncio, editor of L'Unita Operatia; Elenor Brannan, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; S. A. Cowan, of the Pioneers of Ethiopia; Robert Minor, of the Communist Party; and Rabbi Michael Alper, of the National Religious Committee of the American League, Boston, sponsored an August 4 meeting at the Old South Meeting House with Rev. Donald Lester as chairman.

Englewood, N. J., held a meeting the same date at McKay Park with Protestant and Jewish speakers. Milwaukee held a broad united-front meeting in a large Negro church with Italian, trade union, and Negro speakers.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, September 1935, p. 14:)

Upper Michigan: As a result of a tour by Rev. Ralph Compere, State chairman of the Wisconsin league, new branches have been set up at Iron Mountain, Iron River, Ironwood, in Michigan, and at Phelps, in Wisconsin. The Michigan towns plan to organize themselves into a district and to spread the league further into this area.

(Building the League, Fight, by Ida Dailes, March 1935, p. 15:)

Mrs. Chris Frederickson, who in her Minnesota farm community has been conducting patient, persistent work since the second congress, now begins to see results from her work. She writes: "Things look brighter here. Both the youth and the farmers are beginning to realize what it is all about. The local Young People's Society is sponsoring an evening for this work, and together with the Farmers Holiday are arranging a lecture by Rev. R. Compere, chairman of the Milwaukee chapter of the league * * * One bright instance occurred yesterday when the farmers had a big annual co-op oil meeting and a young man moved that a resolution be passed and sent to our Senators and Representatives that that organization was in sympathy with the League Against War and Fascism. It was immediately seconded by 6 or 7 voices, and the great majority voted for it."

(Building the League, Fight, by Ida Dailes, March 1935, p. 15:)

Chicago is also working on neighborhood conferences. The first, held at Albany Park area, had delegates from Epworth League, Methodist Church Hi-League, a number of sororities and fraternities, high-school forum, Community Center Girl Scouts, several other church youth groups, and from a council of 32 Boys' Clubs. The plans made include: Investigation of the CCC camp at Stokie Valley; all local aldermanic candidates will be invited; an open hearing on Fascist tendencies in the neighborhood, the sale of Fight at a local union and outside of a certain shop. A large conference is now on the way on the South Side.

(Fight, 1938, p. 3:)

Harry F. Ward, national chairman of the American League, has for many years been at the side of labor in its struggle for a better world. As chairman of the

American Civil Liberties Union, Dr. Ward has been the foremost fighter for free speech, free press, and the right to organize in the country. He is the author of many books—including *Poverty and Wealth*, the *Labor Movement*, the *New Social Order*, *In Place of Profit*—and is a member of the Teachers Union.

(Building the League, Fight, by Ida Dailes, March 1935, p. 15:)

Cleveland held a highly successful conference to broaden the base of its organization. The delegates represented 23 A. F. of L. locals, 17 social clubs, 9 fraternal organizations, 12 women's organizations, 6 independent unions, the Small Home and Landowners' Federation, et cetera, et cetera, a total of 69 organizations. The secretary reports: "Our trade union committee has been enlarged, and the prospect of really launching a campaign in the A. F. of L. locals is good. We succeeded in involving many of the trade unions in the discussion." Officers of the Cleveland league include Rabbi Barnett Brickner, member of the Regional Labor Board, as honorary chairman; Prof. Paul Rogers, of Oberlin, chairman, and as vice chairmen: Stephen Lecso, painters, No. 867, A. F. of L., and Rev. Horace White, Negro minister; Ruth Bennett, secretary, and Dr. Zucker, treasurer. An intensive campaign against the proposed Federal gag legislation is to be undertaken. The secretary also reports that they have set themselves the task of increasing their Fight order 40 percent and expect to exceed this.

(Youth notes, Fight, by James Lerner, July 1936, p. 28:)

About 15 organizations have already agreed to send delegates to the World Youth Congress, Geneva, August 31 to September 7. Included are the YWCA, National Student Federation, American Jewish Congress (Youth Division), American Student Union and, of course, the Youth Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism. We have decided to send at least one delegate but any city committee which can raise the money is free to choose a youth delegate. This, in case you care to know, is a challenge to Chicago, Cleveland, Baltimore, and other cities.

(The Fascist International, Fight, by Harry F. Ward, January 1937, p. 9:)

This time the attack is against People's Front governments, because they register a forward step in democracy. The effort is to crush the people before they take the next step, and establish the people's power completely.

(The Fascist International, Fight, by Harry F. Ward, January 1937, p. 9:)

The Pope made it clear that he was trying to save the faithful from being deceived into alliance with Communists. That means the People's Front governments in Spain and in France. The Church blesses a cause that uses Mohammedan Moors to kill Spanish Catholics, but curses the Spanish Catholics who support the People's government. The People's government is ordered destroyed by Fascist attack because it may lead to people's power in every aspect of life.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, January 1937, p. 28:)

The midwestern regional conference of the league, to take place in Chicago, January 8 to 10, will be addressed by Bishop Edgar Blake of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Van A. Bittner, head of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in the Great Lakes area and Dr. Harry F. Ward. Our regional organizer, Ralph M. Comper, is in charge of arrangements.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, April 1936, p. 27:)

Centerport, Long Island, held an organization meeting on February 18 in spite of bitter cold weather. A number of new members were signed up and officers for the branch were elected. The Reverend John Franzen is the chairman and the Reverend Edgar Jackson the secretary.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, April 1936, p. 27:)

California—Bakersfield held a league meeting in the local Labor Temple recently, with Bert Leech, California organizer, as the main speaker. The petitions against the gag bills have been circulated very effectively among the Epics and trade unions. The local labor council has voted to send official observers to the league meetings * * * San Joaquin Valley was toured by the Reverend Donald M. Chase and Bert Leech in the interests of spreading the league.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, March 1937, p. 27:)

CHICAGO.—The regional conference held in this city, January 8 to 10, was attended by 175 delegates who represented over 300,000 people of the Midwest.

Five roundtables at the conference took up the problems of labor, sections of the Copeland bill. A national campaign of pressure on Congress for the revision of this bill has now been organized. All over the country, league and labor groups are addressing their Congressmen, requesting them to support the resolution presented by Representative William I. Sirovich of New York and calling for the elimination of "continuous discharge" ("fink") book and the "certificates of efficiency."

(Fight, June 1937, p. 3:)

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Methodist Resident Bishop of the New York area, was chairman of the Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement which investigated the great steel strike of 1919 when 365,600 workers walked out on strike. The report of the steel strike, of 1919, issued by that commission, was edited by the bishop and is a rare document of social value. The story here was told at intervals to his daughter, Miss Dorothy McConnell.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, June 1937, p. 27:)

On May 3 the religious Committee of the Chicago League, under the leadership of its chairman, the Reverend W. B. Waltmire, conducted a very important conference on the theme of "Trends Toward Fascism in Religion." Among the speakers were Prof. William Pauck, Rabbi Felix Levy, Prof. Henry N. Wieman, and Dr. Harry F. Ward.

(Building the League, Fight, June 1937, p. 28:)

Rev. Norman D. Fletcher, president of the Montclair Ministers' Association, on the subject of Civil Liberties and Fascism. In celebration of its second anniversary, the branch plans a special meeting on May 25 with John Jacobson of Brookwood Labor College and Paul Reid of the national office as speakers.

(Youth notes, Fight, December 1937, p. 28:)

We acclaim the participation of the greatest youth delegation ever in the People's Congress for Peace and Democracy. Not only from the point of view of numbers, but from the wide variety of organizational composition, youth's part stands out. Delegates from settlement house and campus, YMHA and YWCA, religious and Negro youth organizations, and a whole host of others prove the point. It becomes increasingly apparent that youth understands the issues of the day. Young people have learned that fascism breeds war and are determined to do something effective about it. And that something effective comes out of the Congress—

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, September 1936, p. 28:)

August antiwar meetings: At the August antiwar meetings all over the nation the Spanish situation was the major point of concern. The Emergency Peace Campaign Committee of Pittsburgh joined with the American League there in a meeting and demonstration at Schenley Park. Music by a WPA band, an interracial chorus, mass singing, in addition to several stirring speeches, featured the meeting. Charles L. Miller, vice president of the Central Labor Union; the Reverend B. F. Crawford, chairman of the Emergency Peace Campaign; Miss Blanche Bray, of the WIL; and Dr. R. H. Valinsky, chairman of the American League, addressed the meeting. A cable was sent to President Azana, of Spain, wishing success to the Spanish people's fight against the Fascists and a telegram to Secretary Cordell Hull.

(Youth Notes, Fight, by James Lerner, September 1936, p. 28:)

Between August 19 and 22 the first of the American delegates to the World Youth Congress left for Geneva, Switzerland. In the group were William Hinckley, chairman of the American Youth Congress; Miss Elizabeth Scott, of the St. James Presbyterian Church, New York, representing the Youth Congress; Miss Helen Vrabel, of the International Workers Order; Harold Pederson, of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Juniors; Jack Kling, of the Young Communist

League; and James Lerner, representing, of course, the American League Against War and Fascism.

This group will join up with representatives of the Young Women's Christian Association and YMCA; Joseph Cadden, secretary of the National Student Federation; Joseph Lash, of the American Student Union; two representatives of the National Council of Methodist Youth; and several others from church, student, and League of Nations Association groups to form the American delegation.

(Fight, June 1936, p. 3:)

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, whose article opens this issue, is Methodist resident bishop of the New York area, president of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, and coauthor of the Methodist Social Creed. Bishop of Mexico during the years of the revolution, 1912-16, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement, editor of that commission's report of the steel strike of 1919, head of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America from 1928 to 1932, author of 17 books, Bishop McConnell has given distinguished service to the progressive church movement.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, January 1937, p. 28:)

Here and There—Dr. Harry F. Ward, national chairman of the league, meeting on the Spanish situation at Madison, Wis., on November 21, a large audience of university and town people gave a very warm response to his setting of the issue of democracy against fascism. The midwestern regional conference of the league, to take place in Chicago, January 8 to 10, will be addressed by Bishop Edgar Blake of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Van A. Bittner, head of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in the Great Lakes area and Dr. Harry F. Ward. Our regional organizer, Ralph M. Compere, is in charge of arrangements. The Pittsburgh League had Clinton S. Golden, regional director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, as speaker at a meeting on November 18. His subject was, A Strong Labor Movement as a Bulwark Against Fascism.

(Paul Reid and Clara Bodian Join Our Forces, Fight, by Harry F. Ward, national chairman, June 1935, p. 14:)

The national bureau of the American League Against War and Fascism announces the appointment of Paul Reid as executive secretary; in addition, Clara Bodian has taken over the duties of administration secretary.

Paul Reid, the new executive secretary, has taken an active interest in the labor movement ever since he went out on strike at the age of 16, as a worker in a wallpaper mill. He has worked in automobile factories, at building and road construction, and for a railroad company. He is a Hoosier by birth, and attended DePauw University in Indiana where he actively opposed the ROTC. After serving for 2 years at the London School of Economics under Prof. R. H. Tawney and Harold Laski. He then visited the Soviet Union before returning to the United States. For the past 2 years he has worked with Harry F. Ward and Reinhold Niebuhr at Union Seminary. He has aided in the struggles of the unemployed for more relief and for social insurance. As an active member of the New York City committee of the American League Against War and Fascism he has led demonstrations of protest before the offices of J. P. Morgan & Co., war profiteers.

Paul Reid came to the conclusion that his life work is in neither the school nor the church, but in a mass organization, fighting militantly against the immediate danger of war and fascism. He will devote himself to the tasks of the league—arousing the American people to the imminence of these twin menaces, and mobilizing the greatest possible number in a united-front struggle to defeat the forces of reaction which would plunge us into slaughter under a Fascist dictatorship.

Paul Reid will be ably assisted by Clara Bodian, a veteran in the labor movement. For the past 3 years she has been secretary of the United Council of Working Class Women.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, November 1935, p. 15:)

Baltimore: From all indications Baltimore will have one of the finest conferences in the country. The list of endorsers already gives the picture of a very broad movement. It includes several large trade unions, League of Women Voters, Christian Endeavor, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Evangelical, and Jewish ministers, Urban League, professors and newspapermen, YMCA and Negro leaders.

(Building the League, Fight, by Ida Dailes, January 1934, p. 15:)

Los Angeles conference: A very successful conference was held in Los Angeles on December 10. Rev. Alonzo W. Reynolds, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who was a delegate to the United States Congress Against War [and Fascism], gave the opening report. A permanent executive committee was elected including students, workers, representatives of Negro organizations, unemployed, church groups, Socialists, Communists, and pacifists. The public sessions of the conference were attended by about 1,200 people.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, October 1935, p. 13:)

Took part in busy and eventful Save Herndon Day on August 14 and held impressive meeting on civil rights, September 17, with Dr. Harry F. Ward as the main speaker.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, October 1935, p. 13:)

Cincinnati: League here organized a real united-front meeting against Nazi persecutions on August 18, and this was followed by an effective protest campaign against a Nazi display at a German-American Day demonstration. Speakers at the meeting on the 18th were a trade-union leader, a rabbi, two Protestant ministers, and the league secretary, Carl H. Levy. Telegrams of protest were sent to the American Olympic Committee, the German Ambassador, and local Congressmen. An Ethiopian protest meeting was held on September 5 with Alex Phillian, midwestern organizer of the league, as chief speaker. The local branch of the NAACP has affiliated with the league.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, October 1935, p. 13:)

Baltimore: On August 24 the league took part in an Ethiopian defense meeting at the city hall plaza, where Angelo Herndon was the chief speaker. The league also organized an anti-Nazi protect meeting on August 22, attended by over 2,000 people, and addressed by Rabbi Sidney Goldstein, of New York City, the Rev. F. C. Rueggeberg, George Renahan, a Catholic layman, and other speakers of Baltimore. Resolutions protesting the German persecutions, and banning the Olympic games in Berlin were adopted.

(Oh Say, Can You See? Fight, December 1936, p. 31:)

And by the way, we haven't been able to improve on the definition of "fascism" that Harry F. Ward gave at the Cleveland Congress of the American League last January. Here it is. Keep it handy as a yardstick by which to judge the situation: "Fascism in this country is the destruction of democracy by violence; the substitution of the rule of force for the attempt of the people to govern themselves; and this, for the sake of preserving profits, property income, and the profit system."

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, December 1936, p. 28:)

The mass meeting was held under the auspices of the North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy, the organization which is directing the delegation's tour throughout Canada and the United States. Bishop Robert L. Paddock and Harry F. Ward served as chairmen of the meeting, with Roger Baldwin making the plea for funds. Joseph Cadden, member of the American Youth delegation that visited Spain, also spoke.

The luncheon followed a farewell dinner for Dorothy McConnell, secretary of the Women's Section, who sailed for the Buenos Aires Peace Conference. Miss McConnell is an accredited delegate of the People's Mandate to Governments, the American League, and the Women's Section. She will attend both the Government conference which begins December 1 and the people's conference which precedes it.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, December 1936, p. 28:)

League members arrested in Ossining, N. Y., on August 25 for distributing handbills announcing a rally for the defense of Spanish democracy were brought to trial October 10 and found guilty of violating a local ordinance regarding distribution of literature. Attorney Samuel P. Puner, retained by the American Civil Liberties Union for the league, maintained that the application of the ordinance was an infringement of freedom of speech and appealed the case to the next higher court. It was also contended that strict application of the ordi-

nance would have prevented the distribution of campaign literature of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Albany held a large peace meeting on November 6, with William B. Spofford of the national bureau of the league as chief speaker.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, August 1935, p. 15:)

Urbana, Ill.: The Champaign-Urbana branch of the league held a successful conference against war and fascism on May 30. Delegates represented 900 members of their respective organizations.

Rev. Ralph Compere, state chairman of Wisconsin, was chief speaker.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, August 1935, p. 15:)

Hackensack, N. J.: Bergen County committee was the first to follow the example of the national office in holding a weekend school. Considered in two sessions "the role of the league in the present crisis," and "principles and tactics of the united front in the league. Speakers, Jay Wright, New Jersey organizer, Clara Bodian, and Paul Reid.

(Red Clay, Fight, by Phil Bowen, January 1935, p. 9:)

The Canadian League Against War and Fascism held its second national congress at Toronto on December 6, 7, and 8, with 500 delegates and official observers present, representing close to 500,000 people. Many trade unions, youth, and women's organizations were represented. The presence of Cooperative Commonwealth Federation Clubs (C. C. F.) was of particular interest, as that political body corresponds roughly to the powerful British Labor Party and polled more than 300,000 votes in the recent Federal election. The congress showed a great improvement in the work during the recent year and a real broadening of its base. The speakers included the Reverend T. C. Douglas, C. C. F. member of Parliament; Dr. Harry F. Ward; Prof. Lorne T. Morgan, University of Toronto; Maj. Fred Fish; Prof. Felie Walter, Trinity College; Tim Buck, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada; Rev. Ben Spence, chairman, regional council of the C. C. F.; Dr. Berta Hamilton, prominent Toronto pacifist; Mrs. Anna Sissons, chairman of the Fort William Independent Labor Party and prominent in trade union circles; Roger Baldwin and Eleanor Brannan, representing the World Committee; A. A. McLeod, former editor of the World Tomorrow, and others.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, December 1936, p. 27:)

NEW YORK.—The mock trial of Hearst, staged by the New York City division of the league at the Hippodrome on October 22 was tremendously effective and drew widespread interest. The house was sold out and hundreds of people were turned away. Under the able guidance of Arthur Garfield Hays, who acted as prosecuting attorney, an impressive list of witnesses appeared and testified against the Fascist character of Hearst.

Among them were Gov. Hjalmar Petersen of Minnesota, Oswald Garrison Villard, Prof. Robert K. Speer of New York University, Charles J. Hendley of the Teachers' Union, the Reverend William Lloyd Innes, and Representative Vito Marcantonio.

The verdict was guilty on all counts, and the crowd promised to carry out the slogan, "Don't read Hearst, don't see Hearst, don't hear Hearst."

(Building the League, Fight, by Ida Dailes, January 1935, p. 15:)

A Superior, Wis., conference is being held to establish a permanent chapter in that city, on January 7 at the Central High School Auditorium. The chairman of provisional committee is Rev. Nat Buckley of the First Methodist Church. The use of local radio station has been secured for publicity for this conference.

The Wisconsin State conference had 217 delegates, 68 of whom were from A. F. of L. unions and 10 of those from central trades councils. Five official Socialist Party delegates participated. Altogether, 29 Socialist Party members were present and signed a resolution urging the S. P. national executive committee to affiliate with the American league. Altogether, over 78,000 persons were represented.

(American Youth in Action, Fight, by Waldo McNutt, August 1935, p. 14:)

Twenty-five regional gatherings from Boston to San Diego have given the Youth Congress a mass base rooted in the trade unions, churches, YMCA's, YWCA's, and student organizations.

(American Youth in Action, Fight, by Waldo McNutt, August 1935, p. 14:)

James Lerner, national secretary of the youth section, was elected to the National Council of the Youth Congress, and will be our representative on the executive council of the congress. This executive council includes the representatives of the Young People's Socialist League, the Young Communist League, the Farmer-Labor Political Federation, the Young Epics, the Central Labor Union of Toledo, the Detroit Federation of Labor, the National Student League, the International Longshoremen's Association of San Francisco, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin, and Steel Workers, Ohio, the United Mine Workers of America, Russelton, Pa., YMCA's and YWCA's of many cities, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and many other trade unions, workers' fraternal organizations, religious groups, and miscellaneous youth organizations. This partial list serves to indicate the scope of the united front formed, and we are confident that we can go forward carrying out the decisions and plans of the Congress, a united, militant, and progressive youth movement opposing the forces of reaction driving toward war and fascism.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, August 1935, p. 15:)

Activities in defense of Ethiopia: Chicago held a large conference on July 12. New York City is developing mass sentiment for a huge protest meeting on August 3 in Harlem. The national office has cabled the world committee urging action at Geneva. A pamphlet on the Ethiopian issue is being written by Rev. William Lloyd Imes, of St. James Church, Harlem, and will soon be ready for distribution. Other cities are planning protest meetings and demonstrations.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, March 1938, p. 28:)

Septimus Craig is the chairman of the League's China Aid Council. The league recently held a forum and social with the Reverend Charles Webber, field secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, as guest speaker.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, March 1938, p. 27:)

Over 200 people attended this stirring meeting. Fall River, Mass., heard the Reverend Donald G. Lothrop, of the Boston Community Church, at an open meeting. His speech on the far-eastern war situation and the boycott as a method of aiding the Chinese people was well received. The Reverend Chester Ham, of the Brayton Methodist Church, was chairman of the meeting. A musical program was presented by Granoff Sister. Ralph Eary, the delegate to the Pittsburgh congress, made his formal report on this occasion. Arthur Kaplan, the league secretary, reports definite plans for a membership campaign in the community and prospects for rapid extension.

(Fight, November 1936, p. 3:)

Jerome Davis, educator and sociologist, teaches at Yale University and is the author of many books, including Capitalism and Its Culture, Contemporary Social Movements, Labor Speaks for Itself on Religion, Business, and the Church, etc. Professor Davis was elected recently to head the teachers' union.

(Fight, October 1936, p. 3:)

William B. Spofford, who gives a short analysis of the election campaign from the point of view of an anti-Fascist, is editor of the Witness, an Episcopalian weekly, and executive secretary of the Church League for Industrial Democracy.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, November 1936, p. 27:)

NEW ENGLAND.—"The matter of peace is up to the people themselves," said the Reverend Kenneth Kingston, of Farmingdale, N. J., at a recent meeting of the Provincetown, Mass., league. The branch has been very active in this city during the past few months.

(Youth notes, Fight, by James Lerner, November 1936, p. 28:)

MILWAUKEE.—The local branch was visited by the national executive secretary in September and plans were laid at that time for extended activity during the coming months. On October 14 the Reverend Ralph M. Compere, regional organizer for the league, will address an open membership meeting.

The United Student Peace Committee, consisting of representatives of most national student groups, is planning an intensive program which will start on Armistice Day and lead up to the student strike. On November 14 there will be radio panels, peace institutes, and a peace poll. This educational campaign, plus the recent endorsement of the student peace strike by the YMCA and YWCA student divisions, will most likely add tremendously to the size and value of the strike next spring. National organizations working with students, including the American league, have issued a joint appeal and program for activity. Among these are the Emergency Peace Campaign, youth section, League of Nations Association.

(Building the League, Fight, by Ida Dailes, May 1934, p. 15:)

Over 6,000 workers, students, and professional people came to the first city-wide demonstration against war and fascism on April 6, organized by the recently formed New York City central committee. The high point of the demonstration came when Norman H. Tallentire, general secretary of the city committee, appealed for new members for the league and 2,000 people rose to their feet. Dr. Harry F. Ward, national chairman of the league, was the main speaker of the evening.

(Building the League, Fight, by Paul Reid, September 1935, p. 14:)

Upper Michigan: As a result of a tour by Rev. Ralph Compere, State chairman of the Wisconsin League, new branches have been set up at Iron Mountain, Iron River, Ironwood, in Michigan, and at Phelps in Wisconsin. The Michigan towns plan to organize themselves into a district and to spread the league further into this area.

(Church Peace Poll, Fight, by Alfred Schmalz, p. 2:)

The peace plebiscite, conducted by the Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches, is the largest recorded vote in the United States on certain issues of war and peace. About 200,000 people from 2,504 churches across the land cast their votes on some of the most controversial issues of the day. The plebiscite thus represents a fair cross section of opinion and conviction in America, and give the facts on which future education for peace should be based.

(Forward Against the Forces of Death, Fight, p. 9:)

Dr. Harry F. Ward, after reading greetings from various organizations: "Now, we will have a brief 10 minutes subsession of representatives from religious organizations and one from Negro and farmers' groups. At the conclusion of these sessions, we will have special sessions: Trade unions, cultural and fraternal, religious, workers' clubs, ex-servicemen's organizations, unemployed, farmer and Negro organizations."

Rev. W. B. Waltmire: "The final thing the religious groups can contribute to this movement is to organize among religious people units of people who will stand shoulder to shoulder with the working class until victory is won. I may be a preacher, but I am on the side of the workers from now until death."

(Is Opposition to Hitler Growing? Fight, by John Haynes Holmes, September 1935, p. 2 and 3:)

In a recent sermon Dr. Holmes made an eloquent appeal for unity of Christians and Communists in opposition to the forces of reaction driving toward war and fascism, and in the struggle for the achievement of a better world based on brotherhood and cooperation among men. If churchmen will unite with Communist, Socialists, trade unionists, and everyone else opposed to war and fascism, our forces will be tremendously strengthened, and war and fascism will not be inevitable. Already the American League Against War and Fascism has brought together in its ranks people of diverse political and religious beliefs, liberals, radicals, and revolutionists, of all races and creeds.

(The United Student Front, Fight, by Joseph F. Lash, March 1936, p. 6:)

The hope of America: The student Christian movement is the student divisions of the YMCA and YWCA but in a larger sense it can be said to include the National Council of Methodist Youth, the interseminary movement, and the many

other organized student organizations in America and one of the most progressive. The National Council of Methodist Youth and many local Y's supported the student strike against Jim-Crowism and violations of academic freedom. They have cooperated with labor in strikes. They are for the united student front for peace, freedom, and security because they consider it the consistent expression of true religion under present conditions.

(Building the League, Fight, by Russell Thayer, April 1939, p. 27:)

The whole league membership welcomes Thomas L. Harris as the executive secretary of the American League as he assumes office April 1. Mr. Harris comes to the league from the rectorship of Christ Church, Cranbrooke, Bloomfield Hills, Mich., and is eminently suited to giving executive leadership to the national organization. A graduate of Cambridge University, formerly a fellow at Union Theological Seminary, for 3 years adviser in religion at Harvard University and later rector of the Church of St. Luke and Epiphany in Philadelphia, Mr. Harris is widely known in student and church fields. To the public at large he is known as a speaker and as an author of books on religion and travel, and for numerous articles in Harper's, the Churchman, Living Church, and other publications. During recent months Mr. Harris has been able to spend a few days occasionally in the national office in preparation for the work ahead. The league has been without a permanent executive head for a long while now, and Mr. Harris' appointment should give encouragement and new determination to all of us to build the league.

(Forward From Pittsburgh, Fight, by James Waterman Wise, January 1938, p. 6:)

A broadened base: The very composition of the congress was proof of the changed and broadened base of the struggle against war and fascism. The 1,416 delegates representing more than 4 million people constituted an increase of about 1 million over the Cleveland congress of 1936. Even more significant than this numerical increase was the changing character. As against 603,511 trade union members represented by 286 delegates in 1936, there were 413 labor delegates from A. F. of L. and CIO unions who represented 1,622,231 trade unionists. Similarly there was a rise in farm representation from 61,471 in 1936 to 163,036. In addition, there was broad representation from professional, religious, youth, racial, fraternal, and women's groups.

(Building the League, Fight, by Russell Thayer, May 1938, p. 27:)

A crowd of over 17,000 people turned out to the rally for peace at Madison Square Garden, New York City, April 4. The meeting was conducted under the sponsorship of a group of prominent individuals in the peace movement: Henry A. Atkinson, Harry F. Ward, Henrietta Roelofs, James T. Shotwell, William B. Spofford, William W. Hinckley, Clark M. Eichelberger, Charles G. Fenwick, Marion M. Miller, Margaret E. Forsyth, Edgar J. Fisher. The national office and the New York City division of the American League participated in the arrangements for this great peace rally, where thousands of people turned out and voted unanimously for a resolution to Congress and the administration which called for a revision of the Neutrality Act and the holding of open hearings in the House. The speakers were Bishop G. A. Oldham, of Albany, chairman; Dr. Charles Fenwick, president of the Catholic Association for International Peace; Clark M. Eichelberger, of the League of Nations Association; Bishop Francis J. McConnell; Dr. Harry F. Ward, of the American League for Peace and Democracy; Representative Byron N. Scott, of California; the Reverend Herman F. Reissig; and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. Dr. Ward's speech has been published by the Methodist Federation for Social Service and can be secured from the American League at 5 cents a copy and at reduced rates in bundle lots.

Mr. SCHERER. Let the record show this is where the special consideration ends.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, do you have any further material involving the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir; I do. In addition to those statements which have just been incorporated in the record, I have four very important additional statements which I should like to present to the committee from Fight magazine. They cover the period from 1934 to 1938.

They show advocacy of the sabotage of industry and transportation by the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully recommend that these four statements be incorporated into the record at this point.

Mr. SCHERER. They may be so incorporated.

(The material referred to is as follows:)

(The Campus Divides, Fight, by James A. Wechsler, October 1934, p. 13:)

Chemical, and all other warfare, will become impossible when and if all those who make, transport, and operate "means of destruction" refuse any longer to do so. There is no power on earth that could resist for so much as 1 week the relentless forces of mass action directed by, and in the sole interests of, plain human beings who wish to control their destinies to the ends of peace, security, and social progress.

(Merchant Seamen, Fight, by James Green, May 1934, p. 14:) •

Stop munition shipments: It is plain that in the maritime industry the cards are stacked all down the line for war, and there is only one force that can prevent them from being dealt and that force is the international class unity of the workers organizing and carrying out strikes against shipment of war materials and cooperating with all those who are seriously fighting against war.

(Father Coughlin Shows His Face, Fight, by Harold Patch, March 1938, p. 12:)

Methodists against war: The social service commission of the New York East Annual Conference, composed of 300 Methodist ministers, adopted the following declaration on May 10: "The church must be in active opposition to war and stand for total and universal disarmament. We favor organized resistance to war and preparations for war. We urge workers and professional men to unite in an effort to stop the manufacture and transport of munitions and other materials essential to the conduct of war."

(Fight magazine, June 1935, p. 12:)

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Mr. JOHNSON. Here are some excerpts from Fight magazine which clearly indicate that the policy advocated by the American League Against War and Fascism was actually carried out.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to offer in addition, Mr. Chairman, these two excerpts from Fight to be incorporated in the record at this point as excellent examples of how the policy set forth by the American League Against War and Fascism has been carried out.

Mr. SCHERER. It shall be so incorporated.

(The material I referred to is as follows:)

(Building the League, Fight, by Ida Dailes, May 1934, p. 15:)

From Baltimore we get word that two antiwar committees have been organized on ships leaving that port. On one of these ships a pledge was signed by 29 of the seamen to strike against imperialist war on May 1. This is part of the activity being developed in Baltimore, leading up to the conference to be held there on April 29.

(Building the League, Fight, by Ida Dailes, May 1934, p. 15:)

The Baltimore section of the league has begun concentration on very important waterfront points of that city. Here are located chemical plants, scrap

iron, ordnance, and shipbuilding depots. Leaflets were distributed to these workers announcing an antiwar outdoor meeting April 6. When the speakers arrived, more than 500 workers were waiting for them, and by the time the meeting was in full swing, 1,500 Negro and white workers were in attendance from these basic war industries. The meeting was addressed by marine and steelworkers, and the response was good. Another meeting will be held in the same place when committees and branches of the league will be set up. A similar meeting at another point on the waterfront was attended by 600 seamen, steelworkers and longshoremen, with equally good response from the audience. Committees of the league have been set up on five ships. A benefit performance of the motion picture, *Forgotten Man*, is being given by the Baltimore section, with an antiwar part replacing the patriotic ending of the film.

Mr. JOHNSON. You will note point 7 in the league's program calls for the winning of the Armed Forces to the support of the program of the American League Against War and Fascism.

I would like to offer to the committee some quotations from *Fight* magazine showing that efforts were made to infiltrate the armed services and that they did pay off to the extent that members of the National Guard and the Regular Army participated in meetings of the American League Against War and Fascism and that in their speeches at these meetings they revealed military secrets which, of course, were transmitted by the Communists within the American League Against War and Fascism to Soviet Russia and to Soviet Military Intelligence. I know that such was the procedure on the basis of my experience and knowledge as a leader in the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. You had personal experience in the transmission of such information?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, that was a rule of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. When you say, Mr. Witness, that that was a rule of the party, do you mean that it was understood that all information coming into the league was to be passed on to Soviet Intelligence?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, all information coming into the American League Against War and Fascism at all front organizations of the Communist Party had to be sent to Russia for evaluation.

Mr. SCHERER. And it is passed on through these various front organizations by the members of the Communist Party who have infiltrated these front organizations and who actually run the front organizations?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct. The Communist Party fraction, in other words, in the front organizations is responsible for the transmission of this information and material to the leaders of the Communist Party who forward it to Soviet Russia, where it is handed over to the various commissions and evaluated.

Mr. KUNZIG. I recommend, Mr. Chairman, then, that these excerpts from *Fight* magazine, in addition to all the other previous excerpts from *Fight* magazine which have been presented here this afternoon be incorporated in toto into the record at this point.

Mr. SCHERER. So the record may be clear, Mr. Johnson, do I understand from your testimony that you, yourself, had knowledge of a transmission of such information as you have indicated, and that you are merely introducing these excerpts from the official publication of the league to substantiate and corroborate what you are testifying here today from your own knowledge?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I am testifying from my own knowledge and training while a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. It may be incorporated into the record.

(The material referred to is as follows:)

(Youth Congress, Fight, by James Lerner, November 1934, p. 13:)

We, groups of Illinois guardsmen delegated here by groups of guardsmen in our companies, greet you in your struggle against war and fascism. We bring word from antiwar and anti-Fascist groups organizing within the regiments to give expression to our form of fighting fascism, by refusal to strike duty.

We wish to state that several entire companies in the National Guard through a verbal vote have endorsed our program against strike duty. We pledge our support in organizing many more such groups. We, workers in uniform, are with you.

(Signed) Groups of Guardsmen, 33d Division, Illinois National Guard.

(Youth Congress, Fight, by James Lerner, p. 13:)

The Youth Congress Against War and Fascism, which has just been held in Chicago as part of the Second United States Congress Against War and Fascism: Seven hundred and forty-nine youth delegates between the ages of 16 and 25 (out of a total of 3,332 delegates), young workers, and students, some fellows who a few days previous to the congress were shouldering rifles in the National Guard, or even in the Regular Army, and know what military training means, made their way to Chicago.

(Forward, Fight, November 1934, p. 14:)

A representative from the National Guard:

"As a representative of a group of guardsmen from four divisions of the National Guard of the United States, I bring you greetings. [Applause.] We are carrying on work among the National Guard against fascism by organizing antistrikebreaking groups. We pledge our full support to carry out all the decisions of the congress." [Applause and cheering.]

Chairman WARD: "Please don't delay this part of the program by prolonged applause. We are now to hear from a first lieutenant of the Regular United States Army."

FIRST LIEUTENANT, United States Army: "The troops of this area have just completed in Camp Custer, Mich., war maneuvers on a larger scale than since the last war. The Reserve officers of this area have worked out all the details of their mobilizations plans, while training has been intensified here. For the machines of destruction the capitalists pay dearly, but to the General Staff the lives of the workers are cheap. Our participation in this congress is our militant answer to those preparations." [Great applause and demonstration.]

(The Steelworkers, Fight, by W. S. Richards, March 1934, p. 14:)

But all antiwar activities to date are entirely insufficient. There must be a thousandfold increase in the activities of all who oppose war. Especially must the American league plan and carry through a program of concentrated attention upon the key war industries, and especially steel. This campaign can be assisted if every man and woman in a steel town will write in and tell the American league every detail of war preparations in their locality.

(National Guard, Fight, by a member of the 212th Coast Artillery Antiaircraft, March 1934, p. 14:)

In such a specialized arm of the Army as the 212th Coast Artillery Antiaircraft Regiment preparations for war are noticeable. This regiment, which will form the basis in time of war for the training of thousands of gunners among the drafted civilians, is being constantly perfected for aerial combat. Though ostensibly for protecting ammunition dumps, aviation bases, and strategic positions, developing motorization is pointing to the use of this regiment as an arm of attack. Mounted on trucks with a speed averaging 75 miles an hour, and at lower speeds doing rapid artillery fire, the regiment attains great mobility and firing accuracy. The antiaircraft guns have been throwing a hundred-mile beam. Actual war maneuvers every year at the camp in Oswego, N. Y., which every man must attend even at the risk of losing his job, demonstrate the developing of efficiency.

(National Guard, Fight, by a member of the 212th Coast Artillery Antiaircraft, March 1934, p. 14:)

Reach the National Guard: The National Guard man knows that he is the first to be called in time of war. He is also conscious of the fact now, that he is used in breaking strikes. Many are being enlisted and trained in Fascist gangs. However, antiwar and anti-Fascist propaganda, when it reaches him, falls on particularly fertile ground. Special attention must be paid to reaching the National Guard men. In New York there are 26,000 of them. In almost every State there are many regiments of these soldiers. Before Roosevelt was elected President, Congress appropriated \$300 million for the guard. Now this amount has increased tremendously. Exact information is rarely printed in the press. The New York National Guardsman, an official organ of the War Department which is the prostitute press of the American warmongers.

Antiwar publications and literature must reach the National Guard men. In the armories and in the homes of the men and in their shops there must be a ceaseless barrage of political education. The National Guard man is a potential antiwar and anti-Fascist fighter.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have, by any chance, with you, Mr. Johnson, any copies of Fight magazine, or shall I say photostatic copies of pertinent pages of Fight magazine, which illustrates specifically the program of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I have.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you pass them over to me, please.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like to offer these five documents into evidence as Johnson exhibit Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17.

Mr. SCHERER. Before these documents are admitted in evidence, I want to ask the witness a question of similar import to that one I just asked a few minutes ago. Is the information contained in these exhibits a true example of the actions of the American League Against War and Fascism, known to you by your own personal experiences in the league?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; from my own personal knowledge as a member of the national committee of the Communist Party and a member of the national committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, this information represents the program of the League Against War and Fascism and also the program of the Communist Party. I sat in on meetings on both the high level and low level in the Communist Party, at which time the program of the American League Against War and Fascism was discussed and recommended.

These discussions and recommendations were handed down by the political bureau of the Communist Party, discussed in the lower organs of the Communist Party. They were presented to the League Against War and Fascism for adoption by the Communist Party fraction within the league.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, Mr. Johnson, you not only participated in all these events described herein, but you lived them in your own personal life?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. In view of that statement, exhibit Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 may be admitted into evidence.

(The photostatic copies of Fight magazine pages received in evidence as Johnson exhibit Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 13

(Fight, February 1936, pp. 8 and 9)

THE THIRD CONGRESS

(By Paul Reid)

Cleveland's reception of the Third United States Congress Against War and Fascism differed greatly from our previous experiences. The Cleveland Federation of Labor was officially represented by five delegates and brought words of greeting through Max S. Hayes, veteran labor leader. Not only did the city council endorse the congress, but the mayor was present at the opening mass meeting to bring words of greeting. The press gave us liberal space and sympathetic attention. Arrow placards on lampposts and cards in the streetcars announced the congress and pointed the way to the public auditorium.

The movement against war and fascism in the United States is growing in scope, in numbers, in seriousness of purpose, and in understanding of the means necessary to achieve its goals. The character and proceedings of the Third United States Congress Against War and Fascism demonstrated this fact. Organized labor and farm people, schoolteachers and youth, professional workers and women testified to the broad character and deep devotion of the forces opposed to war and fascism by their active work and significant decisions in this congress. From the opening moments of the commission meetings on Friday to the closing minutes of the secretaries' meeting on Monday it was evident that the third congress meant business, and that every delegate was ready to take an active part in shaping the program and developing the tactics necessary to stop war and fascism.

It was evident, too, from the very outset, that the American League Against War and Fascism had gained the attention both of friends and sympathizers and of opponents and enemies. The endorsements of labor and of civic bodies, the presence of official observers from political groups and the interest of the press and public figures marked the broad impress of the Congress. Attacks by officials of the American Legion and the presence of the sneering Hearst press revealed that the league had become a force to be considered by the proponents of war and fascism.

The serious mood of the congress and the broad makeup of the delegations characterized the sessions of the three commissions that met on Friday at the Hotel Hollenden. The women's commission, ably led by Margaret Forsythe, considered the signature campaign for total disarmament, antiwar work among farm women, the increasing discrimination used against women, and several other vital problems. A national women's committee was selected to carry on the program adopted by this commission. The youth commission, with Waldo McNutt and James Lerner as leaders, gave its attention to the problems of militarism in education and youth under fascism. The Commission on Organizational Structure and Tactics, with Charles Webber in the chair, concentrated on finance and membership, extensions and affiliations, campaigns and united-front problems. "Our burning concern in this commission," read the opening report, "and throughout the whole congress is to strengthen the league as the most effective organization opposing the onrush of war and the inroads of fascism in the United States."

Mass meeting. Friday night. The arena of the Public Auditorium. From the opening words of greeting by Mayor Harold Burton of Cleveland to the closing words of the last speaker, Gen. Smedley Butler, the common purpose and intense interest of the 10,000 people assembled was constantly affirmed. Scorning the criticism of the local American Legion, Mayor Burton defended the right of free speech and free assembly by welcoming the congress on behalf of the city of Cleveland. Max S. Hayes, speaking for the A. F. of L. of Cleveland, warned the huge crowd of the growing Fascist acts of orderly government, and maintained that even if the devil himself had founded the league he was with it through thick and thin in its purpose to stop war and fascism.

Among the other speakers were Caroline Hart, youth speaker; Langston Hughes, Negro author and playwright; Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, of Cleveland; Frank Palmer, editor of the People's Press; Bishop Edgar Blake, of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Wyndham Mortimer, of the auto workers' union; State Senator C. W. Fine, of North Dakota; and Gen. Smedley Butler. All reiterated the need for the widest possible common action against the evils of war and

fascism. Bishop Blake, in his quiet, scholarly way, aligned the church morally and actively with all those forces that are working for peace and freedom. General Butler, in his typical style, denounced war as a racket, and swore that the league was on the right track in opposing war. Dr. Ward, as chairman of the meeting, clearly stated the purposes and program of the league just before he introduced General Butler for the part of the program that went on the air.

The first general session of the congress on Saturday morning began with a very dramatic moment as the chairman, Dr. Ward, asked the delegates to stand in memory of those who would have been present but were restrained in jails. Greetings from Councilman Joseph Artl, of Cleveland, brought words of appreciation from the chairman for the valuable help that Mr. Artl had given in preparing for the congress. The delegates cheered as Mrs. Victor L. Berger, widow of one of America's pioneer Socialists, spoke.

The report of Dr. Harry F. Ward, the national chairman, was received with both applause and sober reflection. "We meet today in a world which is mobilized for war as never before in the history of man, a world in which war has begun. * * * Our task here is first to see that the United States is kept out of war, next to use our exceptional position, because of our immunity from invasion, because of our freedom from entangling alliances, not for purposes of selfish isolation, but in order to stop the warmakers, and the invaders of other people's territory in other parts of the world.* * * It is clear that the Fascist forces in the United States are crystallizing and consolidating. * * * Fascism in this country is the destruction of democracy by violence, the substitution of the rule of force for the attempt of the people to govern themselves, and this, for the sake of preserving profits, property income, and the profit system; that is the essence of American fascism."

According to the report of the executive secretary, Paul Reid, the league grew in the last 15 months from 44 city committees to 101, and from 835 members to 4,500. Significant advances in the printing and distribution of publications and in organizational developments were also noted. The chief weaknesses cited were financial and the need for more organizers in the field. The report concluded: "We have come far as an organization and as a force in the American scene in the past 15 months. But during 1936 we must cover more ground and become a still stronger organization if we are to achieve the goals which the American League Against War and Fascism set for itself 2 years and 3 months ago.

Nine commissions met on Saturday afternoon to consider the campaign against war and fascism as it related to specific fields and interests. The Trade Union and Labor Commission, with Clarence Irwin as chairman, was the largest and represented the most vital interest of the congress. Between five and six hundred delegates were occupied over 4 hours in the deliberations of this commission. Delegates from coast to coast and from all the major industrial fields took part. The war and fascism commission under the leadership of Roger Baldwin was next largest in numbers and interest. Here the new 10-point program of the league was hammered out and prepared for presentation to the congress. James Waterman Wise was in charge of the commission on national and racial minorities; Rev. Herman Reissig led the religious commission; Kay Harris presided over the farm commission; Harold Hickerson was chairman of the veterans' commission; LeRoy Bowman, of educational commission; Sarah Story and Gene Oliver, of the children's commission; and Joseph Pass, of the Fight and literature commission.

The cultural program on Saturday night was prefaced by a very impressive Barbusse memorial service in which Dr. Ward, Earl Browder, and Roger Baldwin were the speakers. The founder of the World Committee of the League Against War and Fascism was memorialized in words, in thoughts, and in music. Gen. Fang Chen-Wu, of China, and Jean Perron, of Canada, added their words of appreciation for the historic work of this great leader. The cultural program of drama and music was not only impressive of itself but added variety and new form to the congress program.

The Sunday morning session of the congress was packed full of interesting reports, and several rather dramatic events occurred. Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, chairman of the credentials committee, gave a preliminary report on the number and kinds of delegates registered. Margaret Forsythe, reporting from the women's commission, not only presented a résumé of the work done at the congress, but also indicated the growing scope of the activities of women against war and fascism throughout the country. The high point of the youth commis-

sion report—given by James Lerner, youth secretary—was the announcement of a declaration of youth adopted by this commission. Reports of the farm, religious, educational, children's, and organization commissions followed, revealing a vast amount of solid work and concrete plans for action in these specific fields in the year ahead.

One more commission report came before the noonday adjournment, and that was on the 10-point program (see p. 6) considered by the war and fascism commission. Roger Baldwin presented these points and they were adopted in order, with a minority report on but one point. The issue involved was a rather simple one—whether the Soviet Union should be referred to in the statement of our stand on total disarmament. The assembled delegates voted by a decisive majority to include the words, and thus rejected the minority position.

The international session which began the afternoon program centered on the worldwide character of the movement against war and fascism. Dr. Mendez, of Mexico, invited the congress to send delegates to an all-American congress in Mexico City next June. A message from the oppressed people of Cuba was delivered by Leonardo Fernandez Sanchez, now a political exile in this country after serving valiantly in the Cuban league.

Canada was represented by A. A. McLeod, the general secretary of the Canadian league.

General Fang Chen-Wu presented a warm message of greeting from the oppressed people of China, with Dr. Hansu Chan acting as interpreter. Then Miss Haru Matsui spoke for the Japanese people who are opposed to war and fascism. At this point a statement prepared by a number of Christian Japanese in this country was read, giving expression to their opposition to the imperialist and Fascist acts of the ruling group in Japan. Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld spoke on behalf of the German anti-Fascists and revealed the latest developments of the brutal Fascist regime in Germany. Another colorful moment full of dramatic meaning occurred when Dr. Ward introduced a Negro and an Italian, representing Ethiopia and Italy, and these two fellow fighters against the ravages of war and the oppressions of fascism shook hands and greeted each other warmly.

Paul Porter, official observer for the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, welcomed the resolution introduced by Robert Morss Lovett, which opened the way for the closer cooperation between the Socialist Party, the league, and additional trade unions toward the broadening of the movement against war and fascism.

The remaining commission reports—trade union, national and racial minorities, and literature and Fight—were the next items of business. Clarence Irwin, reporting for the trade-union commission, maintained—with spirited applause—that the position of organized labor was basic in the struggle against war and fascism. James Waterman Wise and Manning Johnson gave the report for the minorities commission, and revealed that many minority groups were taking an active part in our common drive against the evils before us. Joseph Pass, in the concluding report, presented the plans for an enlarged magazine with many new features, and for additional pamphlets and leaflets.¹

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 14

(Fight, September 1934, p. 5)

ANTIWAR CONGRESS

(By Earl Browder)

The writer of this article is the general secretary of the Communist Party and a vice chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism.

The American League Against War and Fascism arose out of the first great United States Congress Against War and Fascism, held in New York 1 year ago.

This was the initial serious effort in America to build a really broad, all-inclusive united front against these twin scourges of the masses of the population. Now, as we approach the second congress, called for Chicago on September 28, 29, and 30, it is valuable to review our experiences of a year ago. Let us recall what it was that made the first congress a strong and historic gathering.

Last year's congress escaped those pitfalls which would have condemned it to sterility. From the beginning, it refused to adopt any limitation which would

¹ This article describes further the reports of various committees of this congress, and the singing of "Solidarity" at its conclusion.

have excluded any group or category expressing a sincere desire to unite on a minimum program of struggle against war and fascism. As a result, the congress had 2,616 delegates, from 35 States, representing the broadest variety of organizations ever gathered under 1 roof in this country, from churches and peace groups, trade unions, a wide variety of workers' political, fraternal, and cultural organizations, etc. Some idea of the inclusive character of the congress is given by the official report of the credentials committee rendered to the congress.

Who Came?

Report of the credentials committee submitted by Delegate Jack Herling:

This report covers the delegates registered at this congress up until 10 a. m. Sunday morning. We have not questioned the right of any delegate to this congress to be seated.

Delegates are present at this congress from 35 States in the United States and from 3 foreign countries. The total number of delegates at present registered is 2,616, listed under the following general categories.

Antiwar and peace organizations.....	178
Anti-Fascist organizations.....	19
Labor defense and relief.....	172
Educational and cultural.....	364
Religious groups.....	14
Language labor groups.....	253
Fraternal labor organizations.....	370
Trade unions.....	450
Factory committees.....	147
Unemployed organizations.....	135
Farmers organizations.....	41
Veterans organizations.....	37
Women organizations.....	106
Negro organizations.....	19
General youth organizations.....	129
Student groups.....	79
Communist Party.....	130
Young Communist League.....	70
Socialist Party.....	9
Y. P. Socialist League.....	1
Other political parties (Conference for Progressive Labor Action, Communist Party opposition, official representatives).....	18
People's Lobby.....	5
Continental Congress.....	1
National Guard.....	1
Rifle Club.....	1
Antiwar mass meetings.....	4
Miscellaneous.....	19
League of Nations Association.....	1

The coming second congress can, and must, be made even larger and more all-inclusive than the first one. This is the road to a real mass struggle against war and fascism, which can be defeated only through mass power.

Facing reality

Another set of pitfalls that threatened the first congress, was the questions arising around the program. There was the danger of dissolving the movement by seeking to offend no one in the program, which, in the last analysis always means to have a program so vague that it is no program at all. There was the opposite danger of running so far ahead of the mass movement that the bulk of even sincere enemies of war and fascism would not be prepared to follow.

Both these dangers on the program question were avoided by the first congress. Steadfastly insisting upon a minimum program of action, without illusions, facing the most bitter realities, recognizing the true relation of class forces, the congress at the same time drew up such a program as even the enemies of the League Against War and Fascism have found exceedingly difficult to attack. The program appeals to, and gives practical tasks for, the most diverse groups and strata of the toiling population, in such form that to reject the program is clearly in all objective results nothing else than to reject the fight against war and fascism.

Attached to the call for the second congress, this program has again been circulated in 100,000 copies. It would be very valuable if it would become the subject of a broad mass discussion in the pre-congress period. We invite all critics of the league or its program, to come forward, please, with any and all criticisms of this document. All such criticisms will serve the very valuable purpose of demonstrating how sound and indispensable precisely such a program as this is for the movement against war and fascism. Perhaps that is the reason why all our enemies keep dead silence about our program; it is one of our really strong points.

Taking stock

What progress have we made in carrying out the program? Here the situation is not so favorable. Only the first beginnings have been made. We cannot, of course, afford to underestimate the importance of what we have been able to do. The American League Against War and Fascism has, for the first time in this country, brought upon the scene a dependable yardstick to measure the worth and effectiveness of all ideas and organizations in this field. This has been enormously valuable; it has brought some order into the previous chaos; it has revealed who is who and where they stand. A great educational work, of fundamental nature, has been done.

Serious achievements in carrying out our program since the first congress are, however, as yet confined largely to the field of educational work. Of a more deep-going nature—mobilizing for sustained actions and bringing organizational features of a permanent character, we can cite only a few outstanding examples. This would include:

1. The growth of the youth section and its activities, which have extended and activated the broad united front to include about everything healthy and living in its field, student-strike movement, a national youth day series of mass demonstrations, dozens of conferences, publications, etc.

2. The Women's Committee and especially its mass campaign for election of the broad delegation to the Women's World Congress Against War and Fascism in Paris.

3. The growingly successful publication of the monthly journal, Fight Against War and Fascism, which has won a secure and honorable place for itself purely on its merits.

4. The mass demonstrations and parades on August 4, the 20th anniversary of the world war, which in some places, as New York City, revealed an unexpected degree of mass interest and active support for the American League, and disclosed really great potentialities.

Mobilize

We have all reasons to expect the second congress, to be held in Chicago on September 28, 29, and 30, to mark another big step forward. Every sincere enemy of war and fascism must put his shoulder to the wheel to guarantee that it will actually do so.

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 15

(Fight, February 1935, p. 14)

THE LEAGUE'S PROGRAM

1. To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes; to likewise withdraw the professionals from the service of the war machine and to enlist them in agitation and educational propaganda against war and every aspect of fascism.

2. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding national recovery.

3. To demand the transfer of all war funds to relief of the unemployed, the distressed farmers and those deprived of education and the social services.

4. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.

5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union and especially the proposals for total and universal disarmament, which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world.

6. To oppose all developments leading to fascism in this country and abroad, especially in Germany and other countries under Fascist dictatorships; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers, and the special terrorism and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to mobilize aggressive defense of the civil liberties of these groups and so stop the growing Fascist trend of our so-called democratic government.

7. To win the armed forces to the support of the program.

8. To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to Fascist and war propaganda.

9. To give effective international support to all workers and antiwar fighters against their own imperialist governments; and to all who suffer under and struggle against the Fascist state.

10. To form committees of action against war and fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent war, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed, and farmer organizations.

National, state, and city organizations of the league shall carry out these objectives through educational propaganda, action by mass meetings, demonstrations, picketing, and political pressure on legislative and administrative officials. Every emergency calling for action shall be met by national campaigns uniting all our forces in common resistance to these allied destroyers of mankind—war and fascism.

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT NOS. 16 AND 17

(Fight, February 1936, p. 6; March 1936, p. 14¹)

ACTION

The American League Against War and Fascism invites all organizations and persons who desire to defeat these two allied enemies of mankind—war and fascism—to unite in carrying out the following program:

1. To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions in time of peace or war, and in time of war the transport of all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing, and strikes; and to enlist the professional classes in educational propaganda against war and for participation with workers and farmers in antiwar actions.

2. To expose at every point the extensive preparations for war being carried on by the Government of the United States (a) under the guise of "national defense" and (b) by diversion to war preparations funds for relief projects and public works; to demand that relief funds be spent only in constructive work or for adequate relief, and that the huge additional budgets now being spent in preparation for war be transferred to the extension of health and education.

3. To resist the increasing militarization of youth in schools, CCC, and CMTG camps, and the use of their dependence upon relief to get them into the Armed Forces.

4. To demand total and universal disarmament, as proposed by the Soviet Union to the League of Nations, and to support all measures that move clearly toward that goal.

5. To demand that neutrality legislation effectively cover all war supplies, loans, and credits, and permit no discretion to the President; more particularly, to promote and support refusal of workers to handle all materials of war; to organize and support public condemnation of those who seek profit from the sale of war materials and war loans; to organize mass support for every effort, national or international, which, in our judgment, as occasion arises, is directed toward postponing, restricting, or shortening war.

6. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in Latin America, the Far East, and throughout the world; to give the support of our protests and demands to all peoples who are resisting exploitation, aggression, and suppression by imperialist powers; to those in all lands who struggle against the war measures and Fascist policies of their own governments, and to all who suffer under the Fascist state.

7. To demonstrate constantly the relationship between war and fascism; to expose and counteract Fascist propaganda, both foreign and native; to prevent the formation of Fascist forces in this country.

¹ Text of exhibits 16 and 17 are identical.

8. To oppose all developments leading to fascism, particularly the increasingly widespread use of armed forces and vigilante terrorism against workers, unemployed, farmers, Negroes, and other racial minorities, who are exercising their constitutional rights to protest against unbearable conditions and to organize for their own advancement.

9. To resist the attempts of our American Fascists to destroy by legislation, Executive order, judicial decree, or lawless action, our guaranteed civil rights of free speech, free press, free assembly, the right to organize, picket, and demonstrate; and further to resist all forms of discrimination against foreign-born based on their political or labor activities.

10. To oppose all legislation or orders denying citizens in the Armed Forces their constitutional right to receive printed matter or personal appeals in behalf of this or any other program designed to secure peace, freedom, and justice; and to defend their right to join organizations on the same basis as other citizens.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, when you listed a short time ago in the record this afternoon a group of names of members of the national executive committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, you included one Winifred Chappell. Did you know Winifred Chappell personally?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. Winifred Chappell was a Communist, and at the same time she was secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. Now, in Fight magazine, June 1934, on page 15, she wrote an article, and I quote:

Japan's competitive exports.

I won't read the entire article. I only wish to quote the last paragraph of the article. She wrote:

Events of April and May have suddenly made this trade war into front-page news. It is an unconcluded serial story (intertwined with the lagertail of rivalry between two economic assistants for the Soviet Union and the Soviet part of China are also in the picture), the last chapter of which will be war, unless the workers who now make the competitive goods join in one mass war refusal and then in a joyful international Soviet to supply their own and each other's needs.

Mr. SCHERER. You say she was secretary of the Methodist Federation at the time she wrote that article?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right. She is calling for an international Soviet government.

Mr. SCHERER. Did she write that as a Communist or as the secretary of the Methodist Federation, or just under her own name?

Mr. JOHNSON. She wrote this as secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did you say that was published?

Mr. JOHNSON. In Fight magazine, June 1934.

Mr. SCHERER. Was she a member of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you knew her as a Communist?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. So in a sense in the person of Winifred Chappell, the Communist Party, the American League Against War and Fascism, and the Methodist Federation for Social Service were all blended into one?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you explain, if it lies within your knowledge, why the Methodist Federation did not expel her immediately from its ranks?

Mr. JOHNSON. The Methodist Federation for Social Service did not expel her, because the program of the Methodist Federation for Social Service calls for the Soviet form of government.

Mr. SCHERER. Who was the chairman at that time of the Methodist Federation?

Mr. JOHNSON. Harry F. Ward.

Mr. SCHERER. At that very time?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am sure he was chairman in 1934.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that the same Harry F. Ward who was also chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; that is right.

Mr. SCHERER. The same one you have identified as a Communist?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then the Methodist Federation had at least two principal officers who were not only members of the Methodist Federation for Social Service but also members of the Communist Party, to your personal knowledge?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask one more question of the witness, Mr. Counsel?

Was Winifred Chappell also an active member of the Methodist Church at that time?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, she was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that the same Winifred Chappell who wrote the article that youth of America should not yield to conscription and should not fight if they actually were conscripted in any United States Army?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; she is one and the same.

Mr. SCHERER. How long did she remain secretary of the Methodist Federation?

Mr. JOHNSON. She was active, to my knowledge, many years, the exact number I do not know at this time.

Mr. SCHERER. What is the date of this article?

Mr. KUNZIG. June 1934.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Johnson, do you know of any other person who was an officer of the Methodist Federation at any time who was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; the Reverend Jack McMichael was a member of the Methodist Federation.

I understand that he did attend and graduate from a divinity school.

Mr. SCHERER. What was his connection with the Methodist Federation?

Mr. JOHNSON. He was executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action up until 1953.

Mr. KUNZIG. I note you say the Methodist Federation for Social Action, whereas a moment ago you were referring to it as the Federation for Social Service. Could you clarify that point and explain just what those two organizations were?

Mr. JOHNSON. They are one and the same organization. It is just a change of names. It was first called the Methodist Federation for Social Service, and later it changed its name to the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Mr. SCHERER. How did you know that Reverend McMichael was a Communist?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, during the period that I was a member of the Communist Party, during the thirties, Jack McMichael was a member of the National Committee of the Young Communist League, and he was also a member of the Communist Party, and from time to time he met with the now fugitive Communist, Gilbert Green, who was head of the Young Communist League at that time, and he attended occasionally meetings of the national committee of the Communist Party with Gilbert Green.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Reverend McMichael still a member of the Communist Party when you left the party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, he was.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, the interrogation of this witness will be continued at a later date in Washington.

Mr. JOHNSON, you will be notified as to when it will be necessary for you to appear. The committee will now recess pending the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, the subcommittee proceeded with the consideration of other matters of concern to the committee, after which it adjourned, pending the call of the Chair. The committee continued its interrogation of Manning Johnson on July 13, 1953, and will be printed in Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area—Part 8.)

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
NEW YORK CITY AREA—Part 8
(BASED ON TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON)

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

JULY 13 AND 14, 1953

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83d CONGRESS

HOUSE RESOLUTION 5, JANUARY 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NEW YORK CITY AREA—PART 8

(Based on Testimony of Manning Johnson)

MONDAY, JULY 13, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:49 a. m., in room 225-A, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. Kit Clardy presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Kit Clardy, Clyde Doyle (appearance noted in transcript), and James B. Frazier, Jr. (appearance noted in transcript).

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Leslie Scott, research analyst; George E. Cooper, investigator; and Mrs. Juliette Joray, acting clerk.

Mr. CLARDY. The hearing will be in order.

Let the record show that the chairman has appointed a subcommittee of Mr. Clardy, Mr. Doyle, and Mr. Frazier for the purpose of continuing this hearing.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. I am, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. Let us take up where we left off in New York.

Mr. KUNZIG. Off the record.

TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON—Resumed

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, could you give us further detailed testimony about the Methodist Federation for Social Service which, I understand, later changed its name to the Methodist Federation for Social Action?

Mr. JOHNSON. The Methodist Federation for Social Service or the Methodist Federation for Social Action, headed by Rev. Harry F. Ward, whom I have already identified as a party member, was invaluable to the Communist Party in its united-front organizations and campaigns. It was invaluable because through it the party was able to get contact with thousands of ministers all over the country.

¹ Released by the full committee. Although this testimony was taken in Washington, D. C., it follows the earlier appearance of Manning Johnson before a subcommittee which was sitting in New York City. For the purpose of continuity, this is printed under same title.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you mean that?

Mr. JOHNSON. Through the affiliation of ministers to the Methodist Federation for Social Service or Social Action.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean they could contact ministers who had not the slightest idea about the sinister purposes and background of what they were trying to do?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct. They had the contact, a wealth of contact, established and built up over the years with ministers in every section of the country who were easily and quickly involved in various united-front activities, consequently giving these Communist-front movements an aura of respectability the like of which they could not get except for the tremendous amount of faith people have in religion and the church.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Bella Dodd testified before this committee a few weeks ago to the effect that from her personal knowledge when she was one of the leading Communists in New York, they had various, what she called, sucker lists of distinguished citizens, scientists, and professional people throughout the country whom they used whenever they needed distinguished fronts to cover up their purposes. These people did not know what their names were being used for. Is the testimony that you are giving with regard to these ministers an identically similar situation?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, only with this exception, that there were a number of ministers who actually knew what they were doing.

Mr. CLARDY. May I interrupt to correct you, Mr. Kunzig?

Mrs. Dodd did not go quite that far. She indicated that some of them did know the score, but that the vast majority of them probably did not. In other words, there were a few, just as the witness has indicated, who did know definitely that they were lending themselves to Communist purposes, but most of them did not.

Mr. JOHNSON. I might add that quite a few ministers, for example, participated in the united front known as the American League Against War and Fascism, and it was later called the American League for Peace and Democracy, in which many ministers were involved. In fact, they were so deeply involved through Harry F. Ward, that they became the spokesmen, the advocates, the builders, and the leaders of this most important Communist front that engaged in everything from simple assault on a government to espionage, sabotage, and the overthrow of the Government of the United States.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give some specific examples of this, please?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I have before me an article in the Fight magazine. Fight magazine was a publication of the American League Against War and Fascism, and later the American League for Peace and Democracy. It is an article written by George Roberts; the subject, I Make Shells. He asks the following questions:

Are we prepared for an offensive war, or are we merely maintaining defensive forces? A munitions worker gives inside information on naval armaments.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is the date of this article, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. The date of this article is July 1936. The author of this article gives specifically to a Communist publication that is sent to Moscow definite specifications of types and kinds of munitions, not only shells, but submarine periscopes and other munitions. He also gives quantities, increases in production over previous years. In short, he gives information that is invaluable to Soviet military intelligence.

Mr. CLARDY. Looking that article over, witness, it appears to me that the type of material that is contained is something that would be known either to the Government or to the person or firm entering into the contract. It does not appear to be the type of information that would normally be broadcast.

I wonder if you have any information about the identity of the fellow who wrote that, any suggestion to make as to how he would come in possession of that information?

Mr. JOHNSON. I could only say this, that the author, George Roberts, evidently was in a sensitive spot in this particular munitions plant. I do not know him personally, and I could not say that he is a member of the Communist Party. He could either be a Communist, or he could be a fellow who thought that by giving this information that eventually will reach Russia in a roundabout way or direct way, that he was aiding the cause of peace and democracy, and that is the danger of these Communist-front organizations, in that they sell Americans on an ideal, which, of course, they use for other purposes, for their evil purposes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have this document now in my hand. It is marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 18," and I offer it, sir, into evidence at this time.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The article from Fight magazine of July 1936, entitled "I Make Shells," was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 18.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 18

(Fight, July 1936, pp. 5 and 26)

I MAKE SHELLS

ARE WE PREPARING FOR AN OFFENSIVE WAR? OR ARE WE MERELY MAINTAINING DEFENSIVE FORCES?—A MUNITIONS WORKER GIVES INSIDE INFORMATION ON NAVAL ARMAMENTS

By George Roberts

Illustrated by H. J. Glintenkamp

I am a munitions worker. I spend 8 hours out of every working day helping to make shells and cannon ordered by the United States Navy. For almost a year, I have been employed in a New Jersey steel mill, whose chief concern today is the filling of those orders. There are six or seven hundred of us, working in three shifts, night and day, getting those shells ready to be shipped to the arsenals where they are painted, greased, and boxed, and getting the cannon ready to be sent away to be rifled. We who make these death dealers are fully three-quarters of all the men employed in the mill.

There was a time when this place where I work was just a high-grade mill, turning out steel for tools, razor blades, and other needs of civic existence that called for the finest quality of steel. But that was a good many years ago—before 1915, to be exact. Then a large order for shells from Great Britain changed all that. Our country was "neutral," to be sure, but business is business.

"Keeping Us Out of War"

Two large ordnance buildings were added to the plant. These buildings, by the way, in this country where an insufficiency of school buildings was then and still is a vexing problem, cost a couple of million apiece.

It wasn't long after that, of course, that the United States began ordering shells, too. They had been using a very neat slogan about keeping us out of war, for presidential campaigning; and since the public didn't know the politicians had their tongues in their cheeks as they said it, it put the campaign for

President Wilson over with a bang. And then suddenly it developed that we were called upon to make the world safe for democracy; and it seemed that those in power must have suspected it all along, because this mill where I work now, and no doubt a lot of other steel mills, had been filling United States orders for shells for some time.

Once they got fairly started, and out in the open, the United States Government made an arrangement with the mill to pay for all the machines employed in munitions manufacture, with the agreement that it might remove or leave them, as it chose. But by the time the armistice came, they had been used so much that they were too worn out to be worth moving.

There followed a number of years when the shops stood idle. Then in 1926, they were used to repair locomotives. That was because a strike, known in labor annals as the "shopcrafts strike," was in progress, with machinists, boiler-makers, etc., in the railroad shops all out. In other words, these steel mill shops acted as strikebreakers, or "scabs," in the company's interest.

It was about a year later that they started making shells again; shells for target practice and the like. Then in 1928 came a government order for 8-inch shells; in 1930-1, orders for 5-inch shells; and from 1932 on, orders of such increasing size and frequency that by now they are almost more than the company can handle, and we work, as I said before, in three steady shifts that keep going night and day.

The shells we make are for the Navy only, and our munitions shops are under the control and constant supervision of Navy officials. Their inspectors are on the job all the time, to be sure that nothing is slipped through that isn't entirely up to standard. And "standard" is a pretty exacting matter; only the best quality of steel is admissible, the same as is used in the finest tools. This steel is kneaded in huge masses; the process is like a baker kneading dough. Only dough is intended to preserve life, whereas this steel doesn't get by unless it is quite certain to be unfailingly destructive. It must be made hard enough to pierce armor. All steel is rigorously tested for such hardness before it is used, and rejected if it doesn't pass the test. It is rumored that the government uses a special armor, made by a formula obtained from Germany, for testing shells.

Long-Range Preparedness

The number of orders now on hand for a navy whose purpose is purely defense, if we are to believe what we are told, is, to say the least, startling. An order for Model A 6-inch shells that started at 8,000 was soon raised to 14,000, and then speedily to 17,000, where it now stands.

We are also filling an order for 2,900 Model B 6-inch shells, and for 25,000 Model A 5-inch shells. We are making 24,000 5-inch antiaircraft shells; and there is an order on hand, filling of which has not yet started, for 25,000 star shells, 5-inch. These are for lighting up the sky, each being fitted with a parachute and a flare.

Not the least significant of our orders, from the point of view of war preparation, is that which calls for more than 2,000 14-inch shells (the order is expected to reach an ultimate total of 6,000); and a ship that has been out of use since the War is being specially equipped to take care of it. It must be remembered, in considering some of these figures, that the largest battleship has 12 guns, so that only 12 shots can be fired at a time.

But the largest order of all is for 79,000 8-inch shells; and when you consider that it takes a month to make a thousand, you can't have very much doubt about the long-range intentions of those placing the order.

These 8-inch shells, during the last war, sold for \$846 apiece, though what price destruction in taxpayers' money now, I do not know. But whatever it is, it represents an enormous profit to the manufacturer. The Model A 6-inch shells I mentioned are sold to the Government for more than \$200 each, and cost less than \$15 to make; and the Model A 5-inch cost about \$6.50 to make, while the Government, that is, the taxpayers, pays \$22.50 for each. War is an excellent business—for some of the people concerned with it.

We are also making 14 periscopes for submarines, each to cost \$40,000, and a miscellaneous assortment of other war equipment, such as: 150 5-inch cannon (an increase of 25 over last year's order), long and short range; antiaircraft guns of the rapid-fire type, discharging one-pound shells; and torpedo caps for submarines or destroyers.

The munitions workers have a general idea of whither it is all pointing; and though they are not friendly to the idea of war—"more of those goddam shells,"

they say—on the other hand, they are not actively against it. They are deplorably apathetic about this important issue, concentrating whatever resentment they have upon the fact that they are unfairly dealt with in the matter of wages. They are aware of the big profits that the company is making, and see, in contrast, the smallness of their wages, even though, in comparison with those of the non-ordnance workers in the mill, they might be considered "good." Here is the schedule for munitions workers:

	Hour	Day
	<i>Cents</i>	
Highly skilled labor.....	63	\$5. 04
Semiskilled labor.....	54½	4. 36
Unskilled labor.....	40½	3. 24

The work is supposed to be done in a 5-day week, but sometimes there is a sixth day, even at times Sunday. For such overtime, however, there are no overtime rates.

Sometimes there is work which calls for special effort, and for this a bonus is given. The good old-fashioned method of punishing enemies and rewarding friends obtains here; it is the "favorites" who get the opportunities to make the few extra dollars.

The company discriminates against unionmen. Several men already employed who tried to form a local of the regular union within its walls were discharged. Another group of men tried to form an independent union; these were not discharged, but were given jobs so difficult that they quit of their own accord. One union, and one only, is tolerated: the company union.

Other than union affiliation, however, there are no bars to employment. They take on men with all sorts of disabilities: old men, one-eyed men, men minus a finger or two, young men without experience. The company figures, quite logically, that these people won't kick against the low wages.

Preparing a Naval War

As I said before, the machinery was so worn out after the War that the Government gave up its right under agreement to take it; and around 1930 the company sold it for junk. But before the purchasers removed it orders for munitions started coming in so thick and fast that the company bought it back. But though it is being used, it really is junk, and the company, finding it inadequate, is now buying new machines. They have installed three automatic turning lathes that cost \$15,000 each and two threading machines that cost \$10,000 each. In addition, there is a reaming machine that can ream 200 shells per day.

One would have to be blind not to see in all this the preparation for a naval war. All of these shells are the type used in attack. And anyone in sympathy with the world struggle for peace must be dismayed at this inside view of what is going on. Before I came to this job I worked in a shipyard, and I saw there, too, how everything is planned with a view to ready conversion for war purposes when needed.

Antiwar Education Needed

I think that as many people as possible should be made aware of all that is being prepared for them. I think they ought to be warned not to be taken in by the next batch of slogans dished out to them, and not to let the warmakers put over the idea that it is some sudden and unforeseen crisis like the sinking of a *Lusitania* that causes entrance into war. I think they ought to know that preparations for war, far beyond the needs for defense, are going on heavily in times of peace.

But this is not enough. There is work to be done—intensive work—among the steel-mill workers themselves. If they are dissatisfied with their wages, they must be educated to know that only strong collective action, such as is possible only through a noncompany union, is their one hope of betterment. The labor unions must get busy in the munitions shops, must organize the workers and force recognition from the companies.

There is other educational work to be done among the munition workers, work that delivers a special challenge to organizations like the American League Against War and Fascism. The men must be made to understand what are the

real causes of war, how war favors only the interests of their employers and all other munitions manufacturers, how cheaply life is held in comparison with financial interests. They must be made to see what is their place, as men and as workers, in the war situation that is threatening us. It is up to the American League Against War and Fascism to see that these things are made clear to them. Nowhere is it more important for the League to send its organizers than among these men in whose hands lies so much power to aid or cripple war. And it is only through an unvarnished knowledge of what war is really about that they can be expected rightly to make their choice.

Mr. CLARDY. I might suggest, Witness, that it is possible, is it not, that this name is no more nor less than an alias and that the person who actually wrote it may have received information from some spy or some Communist planted on the inside rather than having the information directly himself.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is true. That may be an alias, and whoever the individual is who wrote it, it shows that he is not just an ordinary worker in a munitions plant, because an ordinary worker would not have that type of information available. He is either in a key sensitive spot in that plant, or he has an organization inside amassing and accumulating the information for such an article as that.

Mr. CLARDY. Of course there is still another possibility that just occurred to me. It is possible that the information could have come out of Government files, too, through some subterranean source; is it not?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not think so, because in that article he poses as a munitions worker in a plant.

Mr. CLARDY. He may pose as that, but the facts he has about production and schedules and quantities and the other things you mention, and which I find in the article, are obviously things that would be embodied in contracts and in correspondence and in other data that would be available from the Government angle. I am just wondering out loud if it is not possible that this may be a compilation of information received from both Government sources and from the manufacturer sources and maybe from out in the plant, from a number of them.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; that is true, quite possible.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, was the program of the American League Against War and Fascism, which later changed its name to the American League for Peace and Democracy, actually promulgated by the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; it was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell us how you knew that, sir?

Mr. JOHNSON. I know that it was promoted by the Communist Party because I sat in the higher circles of the Communist Party at the time when the formation of the organization was discussed, when its program was worked out by the political bureau of the Communist Party of the United States and presented to the first congress against war in the city of New York and approved by all the delegates present at that first congress.

Mr. CLARDY. What you mean is, you are talking about things you know at first hand and of your own knowledge?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct. I was a participant in it, not only as a party member, but also as a delegate to the first congress of the American League Against War and Fascism.

(Representative James B. Frazier, Jr., entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further specific examples of what you are telling us this morning, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I would like to offer for the consideration of the committee the minutes of the Chicago Anti-War and Anti-Fascist Congress.

Mr. KUNZIG. What date?

Mr. JOHNSON. The magazine is dated November 1934.

Mr. CLARDY. What is the magazine?

Mr. JOHNSON. The magazine Fight, in which as far back as 1934 this front was used to infiltrate our Armed Forces, and actually had representatives of the Armed Forces both in our National Guard and also in our Regular Army, and that they participated in this congress in Chicago at which Dr. Harry F. Ward presided and in which a number of members of our clergy participated.

Mr. CLARDY. Pause a moment. You said that members of the Armed Forces were involved directly.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir; they were. I was present at that congress in Chicago when these representatives of the National Guard and the United States Army appeared. They were brought up to the convention hall in cars and brought in through a rear entrance, and they wore masks over their faces, though they were in full dress uniform, and after they had made their speeches to the congress, they were hurriedly taken out of the hall and sped away in cars, so that the Government authorities could not discover their identity.

Special precautions were taken to prevent anyone from getting close to them except those who were authorized to bring them to and take them from the congress hall.

Mr. CLARDY. These things you saw with your own eyes?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I did, because I was a delegate to the Chicago congress, and that was one of the national programs of the league, the infiltration of the Armed Forces, and this is what these ministers subscribed to.

Mr. DOYLE. How do you know they were members of the Armed Forces?

Mr. JOHNSON. They were introduced by Dr. Harry F. Ward, first, and secondly, they were dressed in the full regalia of men in the armed services.

Mr. DOYLE. If they wore masks——

Mr. JOHNSON. That was to conceal their faces.

Mr. DOYLE. Were the masks black or white or red or what color?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not remember the color of the masks at this particular time, but I know they wore them.

Mr. DOYLE. What sort of masks were they?

Mr. JOHNSON. Masks that covered their faces.

Mr. DOYLE. Entirely, or were they hoods?

Mr. JOHNSON. They were partial masks.

Mr. DOYLE. What do you mean by "partial masks"?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, a hood goes all the way over the head, falling over the shoulder.

Mr. DOYLE. Did all of them have masks?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, those that spoke.

Mr. DOYLE. Were they all the same color?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not know the colors.

Mr. DOYLE. Were they all the same color?

Mr. JOHNSON. You mean the masks?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is a detail I do not remember.

Mr. DOYLE. A rather important detail; is it not? Of course, it was many years ago. You could not be expected to remember everything. Did any of them appear on the platform that did not wear masks?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, none of them appeared on the platform that did not.

Mr. DOYLE. How many of them were there?

Mr. JOHNSON. There were a couple of them there.

Mr. DOYLE. How many of them?

Mr. JOHNSON. There were several of them.

Mr. DOYLE. How many of them?

Mr. JOHNSON. There were only——

Mr. DOYLE. What do you mean by "several"? The reason I am asking you this way, sir, is that you have made, I think, a very important statement. I am deliberately examining you to see the extent to which you remember what did happen for our record.

Mr. CLARDY. What the Congressman wants to know is, were there 2 or 3 or half a dozen.

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, they had a representative from the National Guard who was introduced to the congress by Dr. Harry F. Ward. This representative of the National Guard stated that he came as a representative of a group of guardsmen from four divisions of the National Guard of the United States, bringing greetings, and he said that he was carrying on work among the National Guard against fascism by organizing antistrikebreaking groups, and then he pledged to carry out all the decisions of the congress.

After he made this speech there was tremendous applause, and Dr. Harry F. Ward asked that the speaker not be held up by prolonged applause, and then after that they introduced——

Mr. FRAZIER. Wait right there. You say this man had on a uniform. Was it the uniform of an enlisted man or of a commissioned officer?

Mr. THOMPSON. He had the uniform of an enlisted man.

Mr. FRAZIER. All right.

Mr. KUNZIG. To keep the record straight, what congress is this we are talking about?

Mr. JOHNSON. The congress of the American League Against War and Fascism held in Chicago.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this, was this man in uniform a Negro, or do you not know? I mean, don't you remember?

Mr. JOHNSON. My best recollection is that he was white.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, what State National Guard did he represent?

Mr. JOHNSON. They did not state what particular National Guard. He said he represented four divisions of the National Guard. Now, which ones he did not state specifically.

Mr. DOYLE. How many others spoke claiming that they were speaking for National Guards?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, he was the only one who spoke for this group in the National Guard. The other spoke as a lieutenant in the Regular Army.

Mr. DOYLE. Was he a Negro or what?

Mr. JOHNSON. He was white.

Mr. DOYLE. Did he wear a mask, too?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, he wore a mask.

Mr. DOYLE. What uniform?

Mr. JOHNSON. He wore a uniform.

Mr. DOYLE. Of what?

Mr. JOHNSON. Regular United States Army uniform.

Mr. DOYLE. How did you identify him as a lieutenant?

Mr. JOHNSON. I not only identified him by his uniform, but he was identified by Harry F. Ward as a lieutenant in the Regular Army, and he was so identified in the minutes of the Chicago congress as a lieutenant in the United States Army.

Mr. DOYLE. Now that is two men that spoke. How many others?

Mr. FRAZIER. They did not give his name at any time?

Mr. JOHNSON. They did not give his name. They were very careful to conceal the identity, the race, and the nationality of the persons who spoke.

Mr. DOYLE. That was two men you have mentioned speaking. Are there any others?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I wish first to mention the testimony, the speech of this lieutenant.

Mr. DOYLE. Can you just answer 1 or 2 more questions, and that will give me the picture of the kind of a scene you were in. That is what I am getting at.

Mr. CLARDY. I agree with you. May I interrupt to point out that this was reported, however, in the magazine called Fight afterward, so that they have here something we are going to put in the record in the form of an exhibit.

Go ahead.

Mr. DOYLE. How many? Were there more than two that spoke?

Mr. JOHNSON. There were only two who spoke.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean two from the services?

Mr. JOHNSON. Two from the services.

As far as the military men were concerned, I do not know if there were more military men present in the hall or not. I only know of those that were presented to us and introduced to us as speakers for the group, both in the Army and in the National Guard.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean by that, they may have been present either in or out of uniform in the audience, but you do not know about it?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; that is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Then these two are the only people that came up in automobiles and entered the back door and left the same way?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I wouldn't say that they were the only ones, but they were the only ones that I knew of personally.

Mr. DOYLE. How many automobiles brought the two?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I understand that there was more than one automobile because this matter was discussed with us in the Communist Party fraction, though I was not an actual participant in the arrangements for the bringing in of the military men and their taking them away, but in the fraction that was held it was discussed that every

precaution must be taken to safeguard the identity of these members of the Armed Forces and that these arrangements were actually made and actually carried out. After this meeting I discussed the matter with some of the others who were present, members of the Chicago district of the Communist Party, and they said to me that they had carried out those plans successfully and boasted of the fact that they were able to keep their identity from the FBI and other interested agents.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, thank you for answering.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you have the magazine you wish to have marked, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. Give me the date again on that magazine.

Mr. KUNZIG. The date is November 1934.

I have here the document containing 2 or 3 paragraphs of material which I believe are important for this record, Mr. Chairman, and I request that this material be incorporated into the record at this point.

Mr. CLARDY. Miss Reporter, will you copy exactly the part marked, and instead of offering this as an exhibit, Counsel, I think we will shorten the record by having just the pertinent portion from this 1934 document copied in the record at this point.

(The material referred to is as follows:)

[From Fight magazine, March 1934]

NATIONAL GUARD

(By a member of the 212th Coast Artillery Antiaircraft)

With more than ordinary interest many of us in the National Guard are watching the intensified war preparations. This is evidenced by the increased discussions among the men about the events in the Far East and in Europe.

(Picture captioned: "National Guard Machine Gun Unit Pointing the Deadly End of a Machine Gun During the Recent Strike in the Bituminous Area of Pennsylvania.")

Battery and company rooms, before and after drill, are turned into forums. Each squad of enlisted men, in the degree of its political development discusses the coming war interestedly. In the viewpoints expressed I have noticed that many are anxious for war, but a great majority, mainly the unemployed and the factory workers, are fundamentally opposed.

In such a specialized arm of the Army as the 212th Coast Artillery Antiaircraft Regiment, preparations for war are noticeable. This regiment, which will form the basis, in time of war, for the training of thousands of gunners among the drafted civilians, is being constantly perfected for aerial combat. Though ostensibly for protecting ammunition dumps, aviation bases, and strategic positions, developing motorization is pointing to the use of this regiment as an arm of attack. Mounted on trucks with a speed averaging seventy-five miles an hour, and at lower speeds doing rapid artillery fire, the regiment attains great mobility and firing accuracy. The antiaircraft guns have been synchronized with sound apparatus and equipped with searchlights capable of throwing a hundred-mile beam. Actual war maneuvers every year at the camp in Oswego, New York, which every man must attend even at the risk of losing his job, demonstrate the developing efficiency.

FASCIST PROPAGANDA

Moving pictures are used now to interest the men in scientific warfare. Prizes are awarded for gun efficiency. Prowar pep talks are dished out at every opportunity by the officers. An officer caste is building a military discipline on lines similar to the German Imperial Army. Court-martials are on the in-

crease, with heavy fines for even minor offenses the general rule. Mere boys are being hurriedly enlisted and trained. In the new batch of recruits 17 is the average age. Radically inclined soldiers are immediately discharged. Fascism is encouraged, many of the officers being leaders in Italian and German Fascist organizations.

The men are not accepting this state of affairs docilely. In camp, strikes against poor food break out with great frequency. With great courage and militancy the enlisted men organize and expose the corrupt grafting practices of the officers who come back from camp every year much richer than they went. Many of the mutinous leaders, for these struggles are called "mutinies," are marked already for the firing squad when war is declared. The pay for drill, originally one dollar, is about fifty cents now. Taxes and assessments reduce this still more. The resentment against the pay cut is mounting and talks of strike are constantly heard in the company rooms.

REACH THE NATIONAL GUARD

The National Guardsman knows that he is the first to be called in time of War. He is also conscious of the fact now, that he is used in breaking strikes. Many are being enlisted and trained in Fascist gangs. However, anti-War and anti-Fascist propaganda, when it reaches him, falls on particularly fertile ground. Special attention must be paid to reaching the National Guardsmen. In New York there are twenty-six thousand of them. In almost every state there are many regiments of these soldiers. Before Roosevelt was elected President, Congress appropriated 300 million dollars for the Guard. Now this amount has increased tremendously. Exact information is rarely printed in the press. The New York National Guardsman, an official organ of the War Department which is distributed without charge among the men, is the prostitute press of the American warmongers.

Anti-War publications and literature must reach the National Guardsmen. In the armories and in the homes of the men and in their shops there must be a ceaseless barrage of political education. The National Guardsman is a potential Anti-War and Anti-Fascist fighter.

(Fight magazine, November 1934:)

A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE NATIONAL GUARD. As a representative of a group of Guardsmen from four divisions of the National Guard of the United States, I bring you greetings. [Applause.] We are carrying on work among the National Guard against Fascism by organizing anti-strikebreaking groups. We pledge our full support to carry out all the decisions of this Congress. [Applause and Cheering.]

Chairman WARD. Please don't delay this part of the program by prolonged applause. We are now to hear from a first lieutenant of the regular United States Army.

FIRST LIEUTENANT, U. S. ARMY. The troops of this area have just completed in Camp Custer, Michigan, War maneuvers on a larger scale than since the last War. The reserve officers of this area have worked out all the details of their mobilization plans, while training has been intensified here. For the machines of destruction the capitalist pay dearly, but to the general staff, the lives of the workers are cheap. Our participation in this Congress is our militant answer to these preparations. [Great Applause and Demonstration.]

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you any further explicit examples, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Before you pass to that, I think it important to ask a few questions about the significance of this.

As I understand it, Dr. Harry Ward was presiding and carrying on the program at this meeting. Am I correct in that?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. What part did he play behind the scenes in setting up the agenda for the meeting?

Mr. JOHNSON. He met with the top leadership in the Communist Party fraction prior to the opening of the congress, at which time all of the final technical arrangements were made insofar as this matter was concerned.

Mr. CLARDY. You have identified him in this record prior to this time as a member of the party. Is there any possibility that at the time these arrangements were being made in advance of the meeting—was there any possibility that he did not know this was a Communist project?

Mr. JOHNSON. It was utterly impossible for him not to know because it was discussed with him in advance prior to their coming. He, as chairman of the congress, had to be informed with regard to all of these actions prior to them.

Mr. CLARDY. Was he, to your knowledge, acquainted with the others on this sort of steering committee or arrangements committee?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, he was; he was so informed by Earl Browder and others of this particular action itself.

Mr. CLARDY. Were those people with whom he had some personal acquaintance so that he would naturally know that they were Communists?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; because Earl Browder and Dr. Harry F. Ward belonged to the same party and the same Communist Party fraction within the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. CLARDY. So that there could be no possible doubt about the fact that Dr. Ward knew that he was promoting and helping along a Communist-inspired meeting?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. DOYLE. What year was this?

Mr. JOHNSON. That was in 1934 in Chicago when the convention was held—when the congress was held.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, in the New York hearing you introduced or presented to us a list of ministers who were active in this league, in this movement.

Would you say that the ministers on that list were also interested in the promotion and carrying on of this particular meeting?

Mr. JOHNSON. I would say that all of them were interested in promoting the program—the program of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask right there, as I did not have the benefit of hearing your testimony in New York, do we have any outline of the objectives of these two leagues you are talking of, any document which shows that—

Mr. KUNZIG. That is all in the record.

Mr. CLARDY. Yes, Mr. Doyle; that has been gone into.

Mr. FRAZIER. Were any of these other ministers that you have listed in previous testimony present at that congress, to your knowledge?

Mr. JOHNSON. Some of them were and some of them attended other congresses. You see, they had other congresses between 1933 and 1939.

Mr. FRAZIER. Can you tell us which ones were there?

Mr. JOHNSON. The list of ministers that I gave covered the entire period of activity in the Communist front, and I did not identify them according to congresses or according to years because that would be a tremendous job, and I as a witness could not do that in the time allotted.

Mr. DOYLE. How many years are in that period?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is between 1933 and 1939, the entire life of the organization.

Mr. CLARDY. It is possible, is it not, Witness, that some of the exhibits already presented in the record will tie certain ministers into certain meetings so that by careful investigation and checking we could find at least the identity of some of them, even though we would not find it as to all of them?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further specific examples, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I have in my hand an article, What's My Choice, by Al Hamilton in Fight magazine, March 1935. Al Hamilton is chairman of Social Action, National Council of Methodist Youth. I wish to quote only two paragraphs.

Mr. CLARDY. Let us read them.

Mr. DOYLE. What date is this, and what are you reading from?

Mr. JOHNSON. Fight magazine.

Mr. DOYLE. What date?

Mr. JOHNSON. The official organ of the American League against War and Fascism, March 1935.

Mr. DOYLE. Where was he when he is said to have said what you are going to read, or is that an article?

Mr. JOHNSON. He was chairman of Social Action, National Council of Methodist Youth.

Mr. CLARDY. What you are about to read is an article he contributed to the magazine?

Mr. JOHNSON. An article he contributed to the magazine Fight.

Mr. CLARDY. All right, proceed.

Mr. JOHNSON. Al Hamilton states:

For some time certain true spiritual forces of the church and the economic forces in the present-day society have been moving in opposite directions, and to the extent that these religious groups move along the road toward a just economic system, toward true democracy of those who produce and toward a warless world, by so much will they find themselves coming more and more in direct opposition with the state. Sincere and intelligent Christians are faced with a choice, support of the church's struggle for social justice and peace or military state, speaking for the dominant economic group in a capitalist society.

What does this mean? Perhaps it means that the struggle for freedom and the struggle for peace must be realized outside the arena of the courts. If the courts as well as government have become merely the voice of nationalism and the process of human exploitation existing today, then the realm of constructive accomplishment appears to be in the field of economic change combined with organization to hinder and stop the workings of the war machine. If this is true, the Christian must begin to aid in the organization of workers, students, and intellectuals for fundamental economic change and for effective action to stop the functioning of the totalitarian state. Thus the Christian today must choose between the conscientious loyalty to the best in society, loyalty to those who will pay the price of another war, the workers, the students and professionals or subjection to the will of the state that has become merely the expression of the profit system, unable to maintain itself except by war.

Mr. CLARDY. Let us suspend the hearing until we have reported to the floor.¹

(Whereupon, at 11:38 a. m., the hearing recessed until 1:30 p. m. of the same day.)

¹ Floor of the U. S. House of Representatives.

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 1:30 p. m., of the same day, the proceedings were resumed, Representatives Kit Clardy (presiding) and Clyde Doyle being present.)

Mr. CLARDY. The hearing will resume.

Are you ready, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON—Resumed

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, from your personal experience, and I would like to emphasize for you to the best of your ability to keep your testimony to your personal experience, what are the methods of infiltration and subversion in the religious organizations used by the Communists?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I can best answer that by calling your attention to an article published in the magazine International Youth, the official organ of the executive committee of the Young Communist International, with headquarters in Moscow. The article was written by Gilbert Green. Gilbert Green was for years a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League of the United States; he was a member of the Young Communist International Executive Committee; he was one of the officials of the American Youth Congress; he was a member of the central committee or national committee of the Communist Party; a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, and is now a fugitive Communist wanted by the Federal Government for violation of the Smith Act.

Mr. KUNZIG. He was one of the original men tried in the first Communist trial known as the Medina trial, is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. He is one of the original 12, which is now reduced to and is known as the 11?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, would you give the general content of this article, then, to the subcommittee, Mr. Johnson, and as you do that would you fix the date of the article that you refer to?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I will. The date of this article is in 1935, and the reason why I call this to your attention is that the major plot to take over the religious organizations was really hatched during that particular period, and the fact that the Communists in headlines in the Daily Worker can boast of 2,300 Protestant ministers supporting them is the result of this part that began back in the thirties when I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Twenty-three hundred people supporting them in what?

Mr. JOHNSON. Twenty-three hundred clergymen have talks with Eisenhower for clemency for the Rosenbergs.

Mr. CLARDY. That refers, does it not, to a petition or a series of petitions that were circulated in which it is alleged that the 2,300 joined in seeking clemency for the Rosenbergs?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have a photostatic copy of the front page of the Daily Worker from Tuesday, February 17, 1953, in my hand. It is marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 19," and I should like to offer this into evidence at this time.

Mr. CLARBY. It will be received.

(The photostatic copy of the front page of the Daily Worker, Tuesday, February 17, 1953, previously marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit 19" for identification was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 19.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 19

(Daily Worker, February 17, 1953, pp. 1 and 6)

TWENTY-THREE HUNDRED CLERGYMEN ASK TALKS WITH EISENHOWER

DEATH DATE SET FOR WEEK OF MARCH 9

(By Carl Hirsch)

CHICAGO, February 16.—Spokesmen for 2,300 clergymen who have sent a special plea to President Eisenhower to reconsider the appeal for clemency in the Rosenberg case today awaited a reply from the White House on their request to speak to the President personally on the case. Dr. Bernard M. Loomer, dean of the University of Chicago Divinity School, forwarded the new appeal to Eisenhower which "earnestly questions the political and spiritual wisdom of the sentence" of death against Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

A group of leading churchmen who signed the appeal are ready to go to Washington at a moment's notice, said Dean Loomer.

Following is the text of the letter signed by Dean Loomer which Eisenhower received yesterday:

"I urge you to reconsider your refusal to commute the death sentence of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

"Together with nearly 2,300 other clergymen, I signed a letter asking for executive clemency. We assume that our letter is included in the material prepared for your attention by the Justice Department.

"Our unaffiliated group represents an important segment of the Christian clergy of this country. Among us are members of 28 communions and citizens of all 48 States, the District of Columbia, the Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, and the Canal Zone and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

"Many of the signers are spiritual and executive leaders in their respective denominations. Included are presidents, deans and professors of numerous theological schools and colleges and important members of interdenominational organizations. All of us, as pastors, are in intimate touch with our people; it is fair to conclude that our opposition to the death sentence is shared by a much larger number of conservative and thoughtful citizens.

"It is difficult in a short letter to convey adequately the sense of the considerations which led us to make our original appeal. Certainly one major consideration is the fact that the Rosenberg case has become an occasion that catches up within itself all kinds of attitudes, forces, and movements which are operating within our society.

"For this reason, we suggest that the Rosenberg case cannot be looked at simply in terms of itself. For this reason, the death sentence in this instance is an indication of our national weakness rather than our national strength. It is a reflection of our own growing hysteria, fear and insecurity.

"When looked at in this symbolic way, the death sentence itself further reduces the range of our freedom to think and act. It contributes to a paralysis of critical thought. It furthers the mood of suppression that becomes increasingly characteristic of our way of life.

"We are not questioning the justice of the trial, but we earnestly question the political and spiritual wisdom of the sentence.

"Surely we as a country are strong enough to endure the kind of tension involved in the Rosenberg case.

"Since this is an inadequate summary of our views, I respectfully ask on behalf of all of the signers that you grant an appointment at which some of our number

can present to you personally the considerations which moved us to join in a common plea for mercy."

Mr. DOYLE. I suggest to the witness that you give us the month and the date and the volume or the number of that magazine. You said in 1935, but you have, apparently, the magazine in your hands. What is the month?

Mr. JOHNSON. This International Youth, volume 2, March 1935, No. 1.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, witness, may I interrupt you just a minute here, because it can't be too definite in this record when we are talking about something as serious and as deadly as this.

I note that in the article which has now been put in the record and marked "Exhibit 19," it mentions a Dr. Bernard Loomer, L-o-o-m-e-r, as dean of the University of Chicago Divinity School, and it makes it appear that Dr. Loomer had been speaking for the entire 2,300.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, my question is, do you have any knowledge of or about Dr. Loomer?

Mr. JOHNSON. I personally do not know him as a member of the Communist Party during the period of my membership.

Mr. CLARDY. But I note that he is the one quoted as having acted as the spokesman for the group. I wonder if you can tell me something about how these things are worked or operated, because he says here, and I am quoting from it, "Together—" and I am quoting his words—

Together with nearly 2,300 other clergymen, I signed a letter asking for executive clemency.

Now, that is the end of the quote.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is as regards the Rosenbergs.

Mr. CLARDY. That is right, what we are talking about.

Now, is that the normal and standard procedure they use, to get the clergyman to sign individual letters, or maybe several of them sign 1 letter and put them in their files and have 1 spokesman step forward and speak for all of them?

Mr. JOHNSON. It is customary for them to solicit the opinion of clergymen all over the country and get them to subscribe to such a petition, and on the strength of their agreement, their names are recorded as supporting the specific action. That is how they have always over the years gotten their sponsors and their advocates.

Mr. CLARDY. Dr. Bella Dodd, when appearing before us, told us at some length about how this mechanism was built up and put into operation, and as she described it, they built up what counsel described this morning as a sucker list of clergymen and others of good repute about the Nation who could be easily inveigled into signing a thing of this kind. Would you say that is an accurate description of the way it actually worked?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is an accurate description of how this works. They approach every person that they have had at one time or another on various Communist-front organizations and present the proposition to them and get their agreement. You will find if you check the records of the Congressional Un-American Activities Committee, there are listed the numerous fronts over the period of years that the Communist Party has formed and operated which Lenin called the

solar system of organizations, including the names of many clergymen who have at one time or another been on Communist-front lists.

Mr. DOYLE. I noticed this, that as the witness mentioned the name of Dr. Loomer, he specified that he did not know him as a Communist. Do you remember doing that?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I said during the period of my membership.

Mr. DOYLE. All right. Now, I want to urge that as far as I am concerned on the committee, I want you to be very careful never to name a person as a Communist unless you are willing under oath to be able to prove it. In other words, I think that every person named as a Communist by a witness, whether it is you or any other witness, ought never to be mentioned as a Communist unless the witness personally knows that, and therefore I want to compliment you on testifying that you never knew that man, whom I have never heard of before because you specified that you did not know him as a Communist. I want to compliment you on doing that, and I hope that in all your testimony if you do not know a man to be a Communist, you will specify him as not a Communist to your own personal knowledge. The other thing is this, though: I want to ask along the line of your statement about the Daily Worker—

Mr. CLARDY. May I interrupt you to add something to what you said?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, indeed.

Mr. CLARDY. It was because the witness did not even mention the doctor, except by indirection by pushing that exhibit 19 in front of us, that I was impelled to ask him if he knew him, because I did not want even the exhibit to reflect the name of someone as a Communist, as it conceivably might, if the witness in fact did not know that he was such, so that is why I asked him the question, and he very fairly said he did not.

Mr. DOYLE. That is very good, and I wanted to emphasize that I thought it was good that you specified.

Now, as to whether or not these alleged 2,300 other clergymen which this Dr. Loomer refers to—did they sign anything to your personal knowledge?

Mr. JOHNSON. Not according to my personal knowledge, because I was not a member of that organization. I was only speaking of the fact that in the Daily Worker they had mentioned 2,300 clergymen, and I think it is of concern to the American people if it is true that the Communists have 2,300 of our clergy who administer to the souls of men daily in our churches.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, referring again to exhibit 19, as I understand it, this is no more nor less than a page or a copy, photostatic copy, of the Daily Worker for February 17 of this year. You are not here contending that you know whether or not there are 2,300 clergymen who actually signed the petition?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; I am not making such a claim.

Mr. CLARDY. You are not here making any claim that you know whether any one or all of the 2,300 are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am not making such a claim.

Mr. CLARDY. All you are contending or setting forth is the fact that the Daily Worker claims that 2,300 ministers signed the petition of clemency for the Rosenbergs, am I right?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. And that if these 2,300 did sign it, and it can be shown that they did sign it, the most that it would establish would be that the Communist Party may have either directly or indirectly induced that many to do something.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. You used the term "minister."

Mr. CLARDY. I should have said—

Mr. DOYLE. The minister may be entirely different from a clergyman.

Mr. CLARDY. In my book a minister covers the gamut, and so there be no misunderstandings, I meant all the faiths.

Mr. DOYLE. All right. Of course, of your own knowledge, in view of your answer, you do not know whether or not any of these clergymen are members of faiths other than Protestant, do you?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not know what denominations they are because I have not seen the list. I am merely stating that on the basis of my knowledge and experience while in the Communist Party the Communist Party made serious efforts to enlist clergymen in their activities to give it a cloak of religious respectability, and that this conspiracy began not yesterday, but a number of years ago, and over the course of years they have made deeper and deeper inroads in the religious field that I am reluctant to discount the possibility of them actually having 2,300 clergymen.

Mr. DOYLE. When they solicit these men who are clergymen do they do it by mail? For instance, would they have some representative of the Communist Party or the Daily Worker solicit these people in the different cities personally and submit a written form or something to them, or would they write them a letter and say that here is a sample of a petition? How would they function? Because presumably those 2,300 or any number would be in different parts of the country.

Mr. JOHNSON. When I was a member of the Communist Party and a front organization was formed by the Communist Party, the politbureau organized a subcommittee to be responsible for getting a list of sponsors. They were approached individually by telephone conversation, and some by correspondence, and on the strength of their reply their names were put on a list of sponsors of a given front organization.

Mr. CLARDY. Would it be fair to say that it was not necessarily true that they recruited those people into the party, but merely used them for the purpose of some particular petition or action that was under way?

Mr. JOHNSON. They used them to give a respectable front to the particular activity in which the Communist Party wished to engage at that particular time.

Mr. DOYLE. Then as I understood your answer a minute ago, part of their procedure would be that they would appoint a committee in a big city like Los Angeles, Boston, San Francisco, or New York, who would personally interview a clergyman, either directly face to face or over the telephone, and submit the subject matter of whether or not he would approve a petition for clemency to the President involving the Rosenbergs, and then this committee would report what-

ever they felt they should report after having a conversation with this given clergyman, is that right?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I would put it this way—I would say this, that the committee would be set up by the political bureau of the Communist Party to organize a list of sponsors on a national scale. The Communist Party is a national organization in scope. We are speaking specifically of America. If we want to speak of it in its worldwide aspect, they can say it is international in scope with its headquarters in Moscow. Through their agents or through their operatives in every city throughout the country they approach the persons that they want on these different front organizations, and when they have compiled the complete list, then it is put on letterheads or other propaganda material and circulated.

These lists of sponsors give the Communist-front organization a cloak of respectability. The more ministers they get on it, the more respectable it is because the majority of the American people believe in God. They believe in the church, and when a member of the church endorses an organization or a movement, the people are susceptible to believe in it.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course I do not mean to interrupt you, but we do not need any argument to agree with you on that. We will stipulate to that, but what I am trying to get at, Witness, is the method by which the clergymen in the country are solicited. In other words, they would be solicited, then, by representatives of the Communist Party or Communist fronts orally, would they not?

The other way would be by correspondence.

Mr. JOHNSON. Through correspondence and through contact with sympathizers and fellow travelers and party members among the clergymen.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, that helps me understand.

Mr. CLARDY. Bella Dodd testified, if you remember, Congressman Doyle, that after they once had a man go along with one of these petitions or some other movement, they put him on the sucker list, and thereafter they would usually send him a telegram telling him briefly what it was they wanted his further support on and relied on getting a telegram back to—

Mr. DOYLE. The thing I wanted to know was whether or not in a list like this it would mean that 2,300 or any hundred would necessarily have signed anything, and I take it from the witness' testimony that they need not have actually signed the thing, even a letter, authorizing the use of their names. It might have been by oral solicitation at the grassroots.

Mr. CLARDY. This particular one, Mr. Doyle, tries to make it appear that these 2,300 signed a letter of some sort. I think it would be extremely interesting, therefore, to find out whether they are accurate in that statement of whether what I suspect is the truth, that it was the method you outline.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you very much.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Johnson, sometime ago we started talking about the factor of a certain document in front of you entitled "International of Youth," and we were discussing other matters relative to that since that time. You were about to discuss what in that document showed the methods of infiltration and subversion in religious organizations by Communists.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I want to read just two quotations from an article by the fugitive Communist, Gilbert Green.

From his article I quote: "Full Speed Ahead."

He states, and I quote:

The second aspect of the problem of achieving working-class leadership over this broad united-front movement is that of work in the present mass organizations of American youth. We know that the youth workers are not to be found as yet in the majority in strictly class organizations. The trade unions, unemployed organizations, and cultural workers' organizations as yet include only a small percentage of the organized young workers. The vast majority of the American young workers and youth generally are organized, but in organizations directly or indirectly controlled or influenced by the ruling class. These organizations are the Y's, settlement and community houses, church organizations, amateur athletic unions, etc. It is precisely in these organizations where we must work to win the youth for a working-class program and leadership; not only the young workers but also the farming and student youth.

The second quotation is:

While in most districts the major problem is to send the bulk of our members into these organizations of the youth, in some places the problem is to reorganize the work of our present league so as to give leadership to our comrades already in these organizations. For example, in the South we have more than 300 members who are also members of church youth organizations, especially the Baptist Young People's Union. In this district (Alabama) the problem confronting the leadership is to completely change the organizational structure of the league. Where possible we should build shop units and everywhere else units in the church youth organizations. Why? Because in the South, especially for the Negro youth, the church is the center of all cultural and social activity. It is here that we must work. By building our units in the church organizations, we can also improve our work under the legal conditions, as it will be easier to work in the church organizations. In Alabama there are certain places in which we can in a short time take over the church organizations of youth under our leadership, and these can become legal covers for our work in the South.

In other words, as far back as 1935 the Communist Party youth section was forming secret cells in the church organizations, and they had grown to proportions in this particular section of the country so that they would be able at any time to take over the church organizations of youth.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, in connection with that, this was dated back a number of years, as I recall it.

Mr. JOHNSON. This specific date was March 1935.

Mr. CLARDY. You were with the party for about 5 years after that?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. CLARDY. Would you say that the predictions that were made there as to the possibilities actually worked out, or did not work out?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; they did work out.

Mr. CLARDY. Were you sufficiently close to the scene to have some intimate inside knowledge of how they did work out?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. On the strength of the reports of Gilbert Green to the meetings of the national committee with regard to the work of the Young Communist League in the South, he pointed out that they met with unusual success in working through the religious youth organizations in the South.

This success, he stated, was due to the fact that they could use the church as a cover to carry out the program of national liberation for the Negro in the South. I might explain that by national liberation I mean the program of revolt of the Negroes in the South and the

establishment of an independent Negro republic separate and apart from the rest of the United States.

Mr. CLARDY. There has been some testimony in past years before the committee on that, as I understand it, and you are probably familiar with that testimony, and you are adding your weight of your own knowledge to those prior statements that such was actually contemplated?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. In answering the chairman a moment ago you repeated the testimony of Green. You gave nothing of your own personal knowledge except that you heard him make certain statements, and that is only hearsay. What do you know of your own personal knowledge of any incident or place where the Communist young people took over a religious organization? That is, I think, what Mr. Clardy referred to. I am going into that because I want it accurate.

Mr. JOHNSON. May I state here that when Gilbert Green makes a report for the National Bureau of the Young Communist League to the enlarged National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League of America, and when such a report is made in the International of Youth which is the official organ of the Young Communist Youth International, this is no longer hearsay. This is an actual fact, and what is published in here is published for the training and enlightenment in tactics and methods of work for every Communist Party leader, not only in America, but throughout the world.

Mr. DOYLE. Grant that, Mr. Johnson. In other words, I will not grant that whatever the Communist leaders report is factual. You see, I want to stress to you this: This committee cannot take as a matter of fact—I mean, an actual existing fact—what Green reports to a Communist convention. That is only his report.

What we are after is your own personal knowledge.

Now, these documents are valuable, that is true, because they show methods, and they show processes, and they show what the Communist Party claims it did. I am not discounting the value of those, Mr. Clardy, you realize that.

Mr. CLARDY. I understand that.

Mr. DOYLE. And I do not want the witness to think that I am discounting the value of these documents, because they are very valuable, but you see, witness, we cannot as a congressional committee just agree that because Green gives a report that it is actually true.

Mr. JOHNSON. When the Communists say that they are for the overthrow of the Government of the United States, you cannot say that is hearsay; that they aim to take over a country and Sovietize it, you cannot say that is hearsay.

Mr. KUNZIG. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. CLARDY. Put it into the record and mark it as "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 20," those marked portions of the document now being tendered and marked on the outside as "Exhibit 20," and what will be received.

(The marked portion of the document referred to was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 20.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 20

(International of Youth, March 1935, pp. 25 and 26.)

FULL SPEED AHEAD

By Gilbert Green

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Importance of Our Work in Mass Youth Organizations

The second aspect of the problem of achieving working-class leadership over this broad united-front movement, is that of work in the present mass organizations of American youth. We know that the young workers are not to be found as yet in the majority in strictly class organizations. The trade unions, unemployed, and cultural workers' organizations as yet include only a small percentage of the organized young workers. The vast majority of American young workers and youth generally are organized, but in organizations directly or indirectly controlled or influenced by the ruling class. These organizations are the Y's, Settlement and Community Houses, Church Organizations, Amateur Athletic Union, etc. It is precisely in these organizations where we must work to win the youth for a working-class program and leadership—not only the young workers, but also the farming and student youth.

Work in these organizations today is a life-and-death question which will greatly determine the outcome of the whole youth congress movement. Many of our comrades in the last months have learned to speak in terms of hundreds of thousands of youth involved in the youth congress movement. But let us not fool ourselves. Certainly the movement is broad, but these hundreds of thousands of youth do not as yet know about the congress program and are not actively mobilized to fight for same.

Experience has also taught us that the leaders of these organizations are not going to draw their memberships into such active participation. And further, if pressure is put on them to withdraw from the movement, many of them may even do so. The guarantee that these wide masses will remain in the united front and actively struggle for its program, depends upon our work in the local branches of these organizations, how we bring the program of the youth congress to these members and draw them into struggle for the realization of same.

How prepared are we for this task? In Michigan the Youth Congress represents 300,000 organized youth. In this district our whole Y. C. L. has but 19 members in the mass organizations influenced by the ruling class. Can this small handful of comrades succeed in mobilizing these masses for the Youth Congress program despite the position of the leaders of these organizations?

The situation in Detroit is more glaring because of the broad character of the Youth Congress, but it is essentially the same in all the districts. This makes necessary a drastic radical reorganization of the forces of our League. Every Y. C. L'er must be active in a mass organization, and I speak not of our sympathetic organizations, but of the real mass organizations of American youth. The slogan put forth at our convention of 20 percent of Y. C. L. members in mass organizations must be rejected as incorrect. Our slogan and immediate aim must be: Every Y. C. L'er active in a mass organization.

This slogan demands boldness and decisiveness on our part. In the next few weeks we must go over our League section by section, and unit by unit, sending our members into the most important youth organizations. Here too, we must not alone send individual comrades into mass organizations, but whole street units. The creation of units in these mass organizations is far more important for us than street units. For it is in these organizations where we come in contact with large masses of youth. The unit in the mass organization is only second in importance to the shop unit, and hundreds of our present street units must be transformed into units in these most important organizations.

While in most districts the major problem is to send the bulk of our members into these organizations of the youth, in some places the problem is to reorganize the work of our present League so as to give leadership to our comrades already in these organizations. For example, in the South we have more than 300 members who are also members of church youth organizations—especially the Baptist Young Peoples Union. In this district (Alabama) the problem confronting the leadership is to completely change the organization structure of the League. Where possible, we should build shop units and everywhere else units in the church youth organizations. Why? Because in the South, especially for

the Negro youth, the church is the center of all cultural and social activity. It is here that we must work. By building our units in the church organizations we can also improve our work under the illegal conditions, as it will be easier to work in the church organizations. In Alabama there are certain places in which we can in a short while take over the church organizations of youth under our leadership, and these can become legal covers for our work in the South.

However, our League in the North is not like that in the South. In most districts the problem of work in the mass organizations will be more difficult. We will have to teach many of our comrades how to work in these organizations. There is a big difference between work in the street and work in a mass organization. On the street, comrades put up a soapbox and speak to the workers. Those who are interested listen. Others who are not, go away. Sometimes our comrades get away with making general rah-rah speeches. But in the mass organizations rah-rah speeches will not go. Our comrades will have to learn how to speak simply and to the point. They will have to learn how to answer the arguments of skilled, trained leaders, many of whom have had years and years of experience in miseducating youth.

We have already seen sectarian tendencies to solve this problem by creating inside these organizations narrow discussion groups or clubs of sympathizers. Among these our comrades feel at home and at the same time ease their conscience in the belief that this constitutes work in these organizations. We must fight against the creation of these narrow groups. Our comrades must attend the lectures and activities of the whole organization. They must be where the majority of youth are and not isolated from them. We have an advantage today that we did not have at the time of our Convention. Our Comrades can enter any settlement house or "Y" and speak to the youth on the basis of the program of the American Youth Congress. Around this broad program our comrades can educate the youth, set up committees for the Youth Congress, and draw the most advanced youth into the Y. C. L.

Our work in these Settlement Houses, "Y's" and Church organizations must result in rapid recruitment for the Y. C. L. This is of great importance not alone because we must numerically strengthen our League, but because experience shows that the comrades we now send into these organizations will, in most cases, not become the recognized leaders of these youth for some time to come—and some of them not at all. These comrades we send in can immediately make friends, can develop influence, can recruit, but to become the leaders of these youth we need something more.

In New York, for example, most of the youth who are today active in Settlement Houses have been active in these for many years. They entered when they were children and graduated from one group to another, and in the course of years became known to thousands of children and youth. We cannot expect that a comrade we send in to a House for the first time should immediately become known to all youth and accepted by them as a leader. That is why by recruiting from the youth in these Houses we will get for our League, a new type of Y. C. L. er—one who is known in his organization, who grew up with it and is accepted as one of the fellows. It is from these new recruits that our leadership for these organizations will come. This does not mean that our comrades who go into these organizations should enter with an exaggerated idea of their difficulties. Experience has already proven how easily our comrades can recruit and build the League if they work correctly. Just a few examples: In the Bronx House in New York we had two or three comrades. In a few weeks of work they discovered some five youths in the House who formerly had been members of the Young Pioneers. These are now in the Y. C. L. In the Y. M. H. A. we had four comrades. These set themselves up as a committee to form a unit. In three weeks a unit was established with twelve members. In a "Y" in Philadelphia, in a period of three weeks two or three comrades also multiplied themselves into a unit of ten. These examples must be duplicated in hundreds of mass organizations.

"Victory never comes, by itself—it has to be dragged by the hand. Good resolutions and declarations in favor of the general line of the Party are only a beginning, they merely express the desire to win, but it is not victory. After the correct line has been given, after the correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on the manner in which the work is organized, on the organization of the struggle for the application of the line of the Party,

on the proper selection of workers, on supervising the fulfillment of the decisions of the leading organs."

—Stalin.

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Mr. JOHNSON. In the pamphlet *The Party Organizer*, March 1935, this is a special issue by the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. What is the *Party Organizer*, and what is its purpose?

Mr. JOHNSON. The *Communist Party Organizer* is a restricted Communist publication. By "restricted" I mean it is limited only to Communist Party members.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean distributed only to them?

Mr. JOHNSON. Only to them.

Mr. CLARDY. Sort of a confidential report more or less?

Mr. JOHNSON. It is.

Mr. CLARDY. Proceed.

Mr. JOHNSON. Here is an article written by Fred Brown, alias Alpi, A-l-p-i, alias Marini, who was for years a Communist International technical agent assigned to work with the American Communist Party by the Communist International.

A few years ago he fled from the United States. He is at the present time active in the Communist Party of Italy.

Mr. DOYLE. Which name did he usually go by?

Mr. JOHNSON. He went under the name of Fred Brown and Alpi. He was a member of the organizational department of the Communist Party National Committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Did I understand you to say he came from Russia?

Mr. JOHNSON. He was sent here by the Communist International as a technical representative or agent.

Mr. DOYLE. Does that mean he came direct from Russia?

Mr. JOHNSON. From Moscow, who ordered him here, in accordance with the provisions of the program of the Communist International. In this article—and I quote—

Mr. CLARDY. Pardon me, may I interrupt you? Do you want to have all that article put into the thing and marked as an exhibit, or is there only a portion of it that you want to read?

Mr. JOHNSON. There are only two paragraphs of it that I want to read.

Mr. CLARDY. All right, read it. Instead of marking it, you go ahead and read it.

Mr. JOHNSON. The subtitle is "Into the Negro Organizations."

This is the first paragraph:

Comrades Browder, Edwards, and Ford have spoken about the necessity of making a turn in our Negro work, of learning from our experiences in the trade-union work on how to connect ourselves with the organized masses. While the influence of the party is increasing among the Negro masses, yet organizationally they are still detached from us. In the United States there are 5 million of the Negro population organized in fraternal organizations, 10 million in churches.

The problem of how to penetrate these organizations is of the utmost political importance for us. We must systematically study how to penetrate among the millions of organized Negro workers. It is not only a political, but also an organizational problem. We must not be content with the United Front established at the top. These United Front conferences are not giving results and cannot give results if their decisions are not brought down into the branches of these organizations. But in order for decisions to go down, there must be

somebody down below to fight for these decisions. Therefore, if we want to mobilize the organized Negro masses, we must have forces inside of these organizations.

Now, I was present at the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party in 1935 when Comrades Browder, Edwards, and Ford spoke on this subject.

Mr. CLARDY. Where was this?

Mr. JOHNSON. This was held in the city of New York in 1935.

Now, Browder, as you know, was formerly general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America. He was also a member of the executive committee of the Communist International. Edwards went under the name of Brown. His real name is Gerhart Eisler, the Communist International representative who fled our country on the *Batory* to the eastern part of Germany, where at the present time he holds a high and responsible post there. Ford was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. He was vice presidential candidate on the Communist Party ticket for Vice President of the United States. He was also head of the Negro commission of the national committee responsible for the infiltration of Negro organizations and the winning of the Negro masses in this country for rebellion.

Mr. CLARDY. Is he 1 of the 11?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, he was not. Ford was disgraced along with Browder at the end of the war when the cold war was initiated by Soviet Russia, and he was given a minor position in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did the Communists ever try to actually get into some of our Negro religious groups, such as Father Divine's group?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, they did, and I wish to quote from the Communist International which was the theoretical organ of the world organization of Communists called the Communist International, which is now known as the Communist Information Bureau.

This article was written by R. Palme Dutt.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is the date and time?

Mr. JOHNSON. May 5, 1935, published by the Workers Library Publishers, on page 503. I quote:

An inexcusable blunder occurred in the course of building up the United Front actions in Harlem (Father Divine's religious followers). A comrade (see Daily Worker, April 9, 1935, article on Harlem by O. Johnson) in a most careless manner branded this preacher without concrete evidence as a racketeer, classifying him with gangster racketeers, ignoring a more tactful approach to this person who has under his influence thousands of sincere Negroes who are seeking a way out and who have demonstrated with us against war and fascism.

Such a blunder drives a wedge between us and the masses and confuses our theoretical program because of bad practice. Before we can sufficiently enlighten his followers of the futility of religious ideology and of the correctness of our program and the need for a united struggle against worsening conditions, they are driven away from us. This is not convincing the masses. It is name calling. Through organized educational scientific antireligious propaganda we seek to rid the masses of their religious prejudices. We must carefully avoid any offense that will strengthen religious fanaticism (see the Communist, April 1935, Religion and Communism, by Earl Browder.) These mistakes in the United Front tactic appeared in enlarged forms in other cases (Herndon, Lee Armwood, Camp Hill, and Tuscaloosa), where the struggle as far as the United Front is concerned assumed more of the character of a protest (letters and delegations) campaign from the North and mainly a legal

battle in the South. No doubt the most difficult task in this work was to extend the United Front. The Communist workers have penetrated into new organizations, have brought new workers under our influence to accept revolutionary methods of struggle and in general have made inroads among the Negro masses that at times seriously threatened the reformist leadership of some organizations.

Now, further on this subject, which was quite a hot issue in the party at that particular time, which was discussed in the top circles of the party and in the party press, Earl Browder, in his book, *What is Communism?*, in 1936, Workers Library Publishers, speaking on the issue of Father Divine, had this to say, and I quote:

We have nothing in common with the religious beliefs of Father Divine in whose fantastic features we see the fundamental characteristics of all religions, but we have much in common with the masses of Negroes who follow Father Divine. They are our people. We will fight for them and for their interests. We will do everything possible to draw them into the common struggle against a common foe, the capitalist system. We will not deny them the right to religious beliefs that we grant to Catholic workers, Jewish workers, or members of the numerous Protestant sects. We will fight for all of them.

At the same time, we reserve our own right to oppose all religious superstition wherever we find it, and with the most effective means at our disposal.

Mr. DOYLE. Right at that point, Mr. Chairman, on the article you read just prior to this one there was this language—to accept revolutionary methods. Do you remember reading that?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. From your own personal experience what is meant by revolutionary methods as used in that article?

Mr. JOHNSON. That means actions which tend to weaken the Government of the United States and lay the groundwork for its destruction—for example, by starting a campaign, let us say, around the issue of Scottsboro. That is familiar to most people, and in the course of starting this campaign for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, they will link it up with the whole social system, and in the course of this development they will attempt to show those who are attracted on the issues involved in the Scottsboro case that the persecution of the Scottsboro boys is a part of the economic system where Negroes do not get justice, that the courts are controlled by the capitalists, and they are therefore the enemies of the Negro, and that the only way the Negroes can completely do away with lynching by rope or lynching by the courts is to rebel and to overthrow the Government of the United States. In other words, they use a legitimate——

Mr. DOYLE. Overthrow how?

Mr. JOHNSON. By force and violence.

Mr. CLARDY. What do you mean by force and violence?

Mr. JOHNSON. By bloody, forceful revolution, civil war.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand that the Communist Party then revealed the fact to this Negro youth and the Baptist religious denominations and other religious denominations that you referred to in that pamphlet—did they go to that extreme to reveal that it might be necessary someday to use force and violence to overthrow our form of government?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, they went——

Mr. DOYLE. You notice my question is directed to the young people.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; they started out with simple grievances of the youth in order to attract them. Then they twisted these issues around so as to give them political and revolutionary content and direction,

in the same sense as they used the issue of peace and war in order to attack our social system, prepare the masses ideologically for the sabotage of our industry and our transportation system.

They used it against our courts; they use it against the Congress of the United States; in short, against our whole governmental system in all of its institutions.

Mr. DOYLE. All right, thank you.

Mr. CLARDY. It is that same thing that impels them to act as they do before this committee, is it not?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. Let us take about a 5-minute break at this juncture.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further documents which act as examples of how the Communists infiltrate religion?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

The united front in the field of Negro work, the Communist, by James W. Ford, Workers Library Publishers, page 169, February 1935:

There are thousands of organizations among Negroes, such as fraternal organizations, lodges, social clubs, West Indian organizations, independent trade unions, locals of the A. F. of L., youth and Greek-letter societies, churches, and affiliated social groups. They can be approached with the conception of Scottsboro as a symbol of national oppression and for national liberation. We must not come to these organizations with their varying programs with the idea of destroying them but with the idea of bringing them nearer to the program of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Whatever the character of the organization, we can by correct appeal orientate a phase of it to Scottsboro and the LSNR liberation program.

The united front in the field of Negro work, The Communist, by James W. Ford, Workers Library Publishers, February 1935, pages 170-171:

The church represents a fertile field for work; as an institution it has solid contact with the Negro masses, forming a social as well as a religious center. Long before there were social clubs, meeting halls, or fraternal halls the church served their purposes. Marriages, baptisms, funerals, drama, amusements, religion, all of the features of Negro social activities were bound up in the church. When we go among the masses of the church to win support for Scottsboro we do not go in to raise the religious issue. Recently at an open forum on religion a Negro woman member of a church, said during the discussion: "You know you Communists have been sent by God to do the work you are doing, but you don't know it." Should we argue with such a woman about this statement when we are trying to make a united front on Scottsboro? Of course not. It would be stupid. If this woman believes that her religion can play a revolutionary role to the extent of supporting us on Scottsboro, this gives us a starting point for building the United Front on Scottsboro. If we get the United Front on Scottsboro other things will take care of themselves if we act intelligently and know how to follow through.

Problems of National Groups in United States, The Communist, by Irene Browder, May 1939, pages 462-463:

It is the greatest mistake to deal with the Church, whether Catholic or Protestant, as one reactionary mass. The same political divisions run through it as through society in general, determined by much the same considerations. Class divisions are, of course, the basic ones, and we can always rouse the democratic instincts and sympathies of working-class members of the church, and can often reach them effectively through their church, provided we do not offend their religious susceptibilities and thereby throw them back under the influence of reactionary religious leaders.

To ignore such obvious differences and their profound political significance would be childish stupidity.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, you testified previously in New York and here today that you knew Dr. Harry F. Ward. If you have any further testimony regarding Dr. Ward or any further information, I should appreciate your stating it before the subcommittee at this time.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I have additional information. It is more or less documentary, and I would like to offer it to you.

The first is an article in the Daily Worker dated Thursday, May 7, 1953. Along with this article is a picture of Dr. Harry F. Ward. The newspaper story is headed "Dr. Harry F. Ward's Achievements Recounted at Dinner in His Honor."

Mr. CLARDY. As I understand it, you hold the actual copy of the issue of the Worker you mention?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct; and I would like to submit this for the consideration of the committee.

Mr. CLARDY. Have it marked as "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 21."

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, it is marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 21," and I offer it into evidence at this time.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The copy of the article in the Daily Worker dated Thursday, May 7, 1953, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 21.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 21

(Daily Worker, New York, May 7, 1953, p. 7)

DR. HARRY F. WARD'S ACHIEVEMENTS RECOUNTED AT DINNER IN HIS HONOR

(By David Platt)

Dr. Harry F. Ward, one of America's noblemen, who will soon reach his 80th birthday, was guest of honor at a dinner at Hotel McAlpin the other night. The affair was sponsored by New World Review, a progressive monthly devoted to circulating the truth about the Socialist and People's Democracies abroad.

The magazine brought out several hundred friends and former students of Dr. Ward, and some of those who knew him well, like Rev. Jack McMichael, of the Methodist Federation for Social Action; Corliss Lamont; Paul Robeson; Frederick Field; and Jessica Smith, editor of New World Review, told the others of how Dr. Ward's teachings enriched them personally and how his tremendous work for brotherhood, peace, and justice has influenced the nation as a whole.

"His influence on the churches of this country is incalculable," said Rev. McMichael, one of Dr. Ward's former students at Union Theological Seminary, in his stirring account of the life of this "rare scholar and man of action."

"When you see ministers taking a courageous stand on civil liberties and peace, it is because of the inspiration of Dr. Ward's work."

* * * * *

Other speakers noted the enormous amount of activity that Dr. Ward has been involved in during the past half century.

He is the author of 15 books since 1913 and has a new one coming out soon.

He was for years chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American League for Peace and Democracy.

He was general secretary of the Methodist Federation of Social Service from 1911 to 1944.

He was professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary for 25 years and chairman of American Civil Liberties Union from 1920 to 1940.

* * * * *

Jessica Smith pointed out a few more things about Dr. Ward, such as his activity in the British labor movement as far back as 1889. He knew the British labor leader Tom Mann, she said, and was himself a worker when he came to America as a young lad of 17.

He was a rancher and teamster and worked with Sidney Hillman in the great garment strike that brought about the birth of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union.

He knew William Z. Foster and Eugene Debs.

He studied the works of Marx and Engels and learned what was the basis of the thinking of these Socialist giants.

He went to the Soviet Union in 1924 and in 1931 spent a whole year there studying the incentives of socialism, out of which came his book, *In Place of Profit*.

How did Dr. Ward find time to do all the things he did? The answer, said Corliss Lamont, is to be found in a poem by Alfred Tennyson, "His strength was as the strength of ten because his heart is pure!"

The entire audience broke into applause when Dr. Ward came to the mike. After paying a moving compliment to his wife who was seated on the platform, Dr. Ward, in words of great eloquence called for a counteroffensive against the warmakers.

"The Eisenhower administration declares that peace is subversive. Very well. Let our answer then be not defense but the most terrific counteroffensive this Nation has ever seen. Let us answer that war is subversive.

"It is war that is destroying the Bill of Rights and undermining the Constitution. War is bringing fascism to our doorstep. War is submerging peace. War is taking money needed for education and health and subverting the social wellbeing of the whole Nation. These are the things we must make the people see. Let that be our answer to the Department of Justice." (Tremendous applause!)

Earlier in the evening, Mr. Lamont drove home to the audience the threat to the press in McCarthy's drive against civil liberties, pointing out that even the violent anti-Communist paper, the *N. Y. Post*, is having its trouble with McCarthy. This paper, he said, offers the "greatest possible lesson to all liberals and progressives.

"The *Post* tried to win safety through the dirtiest redbaiting you can imagine. James Wechsler thought he could win safety and security for his paper by attacking the Communists and the Soviet Union on every possible occasion. Has it done him any good? It has not. Winchell is after him and McCarthy is after him, and though Wechsler grovels on the ground, he can't get away from him."

The situation on *The Post*, said Lamont is proof that the drive against civil liberties is against anybody "left of President McKinley—anybody who has any ideas at all."

The thing to do, he said, as the audience applauded vigorously, is for everybody who believes in freedom of the press to "stand firm and fight until the McCarthyites are beaten."

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Theodore Bozal of the United Furniture Workers, CIO Local 92, contributed his bit to this splendid evening by telling of his recent trip to the Soviet Union and Peoples Poland and of the tremendous peace feeling he encountered everywhere.

Here in America, he said, "we are accustomed to seeing nothing but commercial advertising on billboards. In the U. S. S. R. I saw hundreds of billboards advertising 'We are for Peace.'"

* * * * *

Robeson's marvelous singing of *Climbing Jacob's Ladder* and other songs, accompanied by Alan Booth on the piano stirred everyone at this inspiring tribute to Dr. Ward described by chairman Frederick V. Field as "one of the American leaders of the new world in whom is combined that fusion of intelligence, understanding, and progressive leadership which is the mark of true greatness."

Mr. JOHNSON. Now, I would also like to quote from a pamphlet entitled "Socialism—What's in It for You?" by A. B. Magil, New Century Publishers. A. B. Magil has for years been a national leader of the Communist Party in the United States.

Now, Magil in this pamphlet states the following, and I quote:

There are religious people who, far from considering socialism a menace, see in it the fulfillment of the ethical principles of their faith. It is this that has attracted to socialism distinguished clergymen like the Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Harry F. Ward, professor emeritus of Christian Ethics at Union Theological

Seminary, and Reverend Eliot White, formerly of the Grace Episcopal Church of New York.

The next quote deals with Harry F. Ward and is taken from a pamphlet written by Earl Browder in 1936 called *Democracy or Fascism?*, Workers Library Publishers. This pamphlet is made up from the report of Earl Browder to the ninth national convention of the Communist Party in 1936. I was present at the ninth convention of the Communist Party in New York City held at Manhattan Center on 34th Street when this report was made. I was a delegate, and it was at that convention that I was elected to membership on the national committee.

In the report Browder mentioned the splendid work of Dr. Harry F. Ward as one of the finer types of comrades or party members. He stated that—

It is impossible to speak of the American League and its work without noting the outstanding contribution of its tireless and devoted chairman, Dr. Harry F. Ward.

Mr. CLARDY. By American League, of course you mean the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, the American League Against War and Fascism. I continue:

Such selfless and consistent service to a progressive cause as Dr. Ward has given will always receive the unstinted recognition and support of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. You have of your own knowledge placed Dr. Ward in the party, and you have so testified repeatedly before us. Now, what you have been giving us is some documentary confirmation of precisely what you, yourself, have testified to.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, do you know anything about the United Christian Council for Democracy?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever have any experience with that group?

Mr. JOHNSON. I personally never worked with the group itself because the group was formed, according to my best recollection, in 1939, and that was the first time that I had heard of it. It was one of those organizations that was formed for the purpose of infiltrating the various religious denominations throughout the country.

Mr. KUNZIG. If you had no personal knowledge, then what is your source of knowledge?

Mr. JOHNSON. My source of knowledge may be found in the pamphlet or magazine known as the Protestant Digest.

Mr. CLARDY. Let me interrupt you. I am not sure that either you or counsel are quite accurate in the way you phrased it. You as a member of the Communist Party must have had some knowledge of this subject. Suppose you tell us what the extent of that knowledge was.

Mr. JOHNSON. The extent of my knowledge was that this organization existed and that it had a program similar to that of the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

Mr. CLARDY. All right, now I will ask you another one. In your contacts with other members of the Communist Party was the subject discussed so that out of all of these meetings with others you picked

up knowledge about the movement and about this other arm of the party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, it was of general knowledge. It was mentioned incidentally in discussion of work in religious organization.

(Representative Clyde Doyle left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. JOHNSON. At the particular time I was mainly involved in work in the trade unions. Consequently, I did not make myself familiar with the organization or its program. I was content just to accept on the basis of the mere mention of it that it was a new Communist front that was organized.

Mr. CLARDY. So while you knew it was organized, and you knew from others what it was doing and its general method of operation, you were not part of that particular piece of apparatus?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; I was not.

Mr. CLARDY. All right, now proceed.

Mr. JOHNSON. I am only testifying on this as an expert.

Mr. CLARDY. That, sir, is a good statement of the position I think you occupy on this subject. Go right ahead.

Mr. JOHNSON. In the Protestant Digest of April 1939, published by the Protestant Digest Council for Democracy, there is an article, United Christian Council for Democracy, which sets forth the aims, purposes, and objectives of this organization and the list of its officers.

Speaking as an expert on the strength of this article the program as set forth in it indicates that the policy of the organization is based upon the program of the Communist Party for the infiltration of the various Protestant denominations on the basis of conditioning them mentally, organizationally for the overthrow of the Government of the United States.

Mr. CLARDY. Again you have just one issue or photostat or part of one issue dated sometime in 1939?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. Is that magazine still being published, but under a different name?

Mr. JOHNSON. It was published, to my knowledge, up until the fifties under the name of the Protestant Digest.

Mr. CLARDY. We have had some testimony in the files from other witnesses prior to now. Any more comment on that?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have in my hand the pamphlet which has just been read from by the witness which has been marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 22," and I should like to offer this exhibit into evidence at this time.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The pamphlet Protestant Digest, April 1939, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 22.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 22

(The Protestant Digest, April 1939, pp. 61-63)

UNITED CHRISTIAN COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

PURPOSE

To bring together for education and united action members in all Christian churches who are intent upon expressing the social imperatives inherent in the Christian religion.

A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Our Christian faith in a God of love and righteousness, our acceptance of the prophetic command to do justice and love mercy, our obedience to Jesus' teachings concerning the values and possibilities of human life, leave us with no alternative save to labor for a radically new society.

Therefore, moved by the joint compulsion of the desperate needs of human society and the inescapable demands of the Christian faith and hope, we unite around the following basic principles:

1. We reject the profit-seeking economy and the capitalistic way of life with its private ownership of the things upon which the lives of all depend.

2. We seek to establish a social economy which, under social ownership and democratic control of the common means of life, will make possible the highest potential development of persons and society.

3. We pledge ourselves to resolute effort to accomplish this basic change in the organization of society by the democratic process.

4. We propose to support the necessary political and economic action to implement these aims.

5. In all this we rely upon the availability of spiritual resources adequate for the redemption of society.

THE ORGANIZATION

A federation

The United Christian Council for Democracy is a federation of nationally organized unofficial denominational units.

Denominational groups

An effective means, we believe, of promoting education and action in line with our principles is first of all through the various denominations. A major objective then is to win the support of a large number of laymen and ministers in each denomination. This is accomplished through individual membership organizations.

We believe that each Protestant denomination ought to have such an unofficial organized group which will crystallize and express advanced social positions, beyond those which the denomination will or can take officially.

We are anxious to enlist laymen as well as ministers in these groups and believe that the effectiveness of our work will depend measurably upon the proportion of laymen who actively support this program.

Regional committees

On a geographical basis, regional or statewide, and in large cities, regional committees of the United Christian Council are being formed. Such committees will be interdenominational and representative. Uniting as they will persons of common anxiety and conviction in the several denominations of the given areas, there will be sufficient strength to support decisive action needed in acute social situations.

A national committee

A national committee is composed of representatives from each nationally organized denominational group, 1 for each 200 members, together with 1 representative from each interdenominational regional committee.

Executive committee

The executive body of the United Christian Council is composed of one representative from each denominational group. The committee has been given power to act in terms of the general policy established annually by the National Committee.

PROPOSED ACTION

For the United Christian Council, the constituent national denominational organizations, and regional committees.

Literature

The council hopes to recruit the ablest men in all denominations in the preparation of pamphlets interpreting our convictions on basic social problems and the relation of the church to them. We believe that united action in propaganda will greatly improve the quality and effectiveness of such educational work.

It is our hope that later both a weekly news sheet and a quarterly magazine may bring our interpretations of social problems to the people of the churches.

Pronouncements

The council expects to make pronouncements, from time to time, on current issues in which it will seek to express the mind and determination of the socially advanced portion of the Christian churches.

The regional and local groups will be encouraged to make pronouncements upon social crises in their own communities.

Action

We believe that common counsel will lead to united action on the part of church people on behalf of labor, in counteracting prejudice in labor disputes, in defending civil liberties, in opposing warmaking, in furtherance of international conferences on basic economic problems, in supporting cooperatives, in relating the rural church to the most effective farmers' organizations, and generally in giving aid to the forces in the community which are working toward immediate justice and an ultimate cooperative commonwealth.

Mutual aid

Recognizing that perils of insecurity beset Christian leaders who advocate positions more advanced than those held by the community in general, we will strive in every way possible to secure the facts in the event of dismissals, to place our moral support behind those who are unjustly dismissed, and to secure aid for those whose livelihood is imperiled.

 UNITED CHRISTIAN COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

William F. Cochran, President

Executive Committee

Reinhold Niebuhr, chairman-----	Evangelical and Reformed
Ruth Maybee-----	Baptist
H. Lincoln MacKenzie-----	Community
Ralph Read-----	Congregational
Harold Fey-----	Disciples
William B. Spofford-----	Episcopal
Harry F. Ward-----	Methodist
Howard Black-----	Presbyterian
Howard Kester-----	Southern Churchmen
Lon Ray Call-----	Unitarian

Information regarding the United Christian Council for Democracy may be obtained from Richard Morford, secretary, 22 Forest Ave., Albany, N. Y.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, as a former leader of the Communist Party can you tell us something about the nature of this magazine first called the Protestant Digest and later called the Protestant?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I can; but before I go into that, I would like to call—

(At this point Representative Clyde Doyle returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. CLARDY. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. JOHNSON. The Protestant Digest was first published in 1938 while I was a member of the party, and in the party circles it was discussed as one of the Communist-front publications that had as its aim and purpose using first the infiltration of the Protestant denominations; secondly, to carry the materialist, antireligious policy of the Communist Party into the religious denominations under the guise of religion.

Moreover, it provided the ministers with material for sermons that they delivered to congregations at the regular services.

Mr. CLARDY. Let me interrupt you, Witness. Is it fair to say then that this magazine was instituted by the Communist Party for the purpose of perhaps deceiving and misleading the good men in the ministry into preaching things that would help promote the Communist Party line without their being necessarily completely aware of it?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct; that is a correct statement.

Mr. CLARDY. And that it was fostered and put forward and sold in some instances to good men, but men who were willing to accept the statements as though they were bona fide expressions of true Christianity?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

(Representative Kit Clardy left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. JOHNSON. In 1938 when the Protestant Digest first was published, there was only one person on the editorial staff. That person was Kenneth Leslie.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know Kenneth Leslie to be a member of the Communist Party? Did you personally know?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not recall having ever attended party meetings with Kenneth Leslie, though I do know that he was under Communist Party discipline.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you know that he was under Communist Party discipline?

Mr. JOHNSON. Because in the upper circles of the party he was discussed as one that could be depended upon to carry out the Communist Party line.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue with the list of people who were responsible through the years for the magazine?

Mr. JOHNSON. In 1939 the magazine shows in addition to Kenneth Leslie a group of editorial advisers, six, to be exact.

(Representative Kit Clardy returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. CLARDY. You do not mean to imply that these six of your own knowledge were necessarily members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not say that they were card-carrying members of the Communist Party. I make this statement because in the Communist Party we had card-carrying members; we had non-card-carrying members. By non-card-carrying members are meant persons who are of great value to the Communist Party in various Communist-front organizations whose identity, were it known generally, as card-carrying members would render ineffective their work in these Communist-front organizations.

Mr. CLARDY. All right. Now, to come back to my question, as to those that have been specifically named, you do not have any specific knowledge, I take it, as to whether they were in any of these classes that you are talking about?

Mr. JOHNSON. I did not attend any closed meetings with these people, but I would say that they were on numerous Communist-front organizations, and they carried out the line. Therefore, they were persons under Communist Party discipline as all persons who consistently carry out the work of the Communist Party through front organizations are persons who are under Communist Party discipline.

Mr. CLARDY. Let us put it this way: Are you personally, or were you personally acquainted with the individuals that you have discussed so that you are in a position to say of your own knowledge whether they fell in any of these categories or not?

Mr. JOHNSON. I only know of them through their activities in the Communist-front organizations or the solar system of organizations that was set up in the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then the answer is, you do not know them as card-carrying members nor do you know them as specifically non-card-carrying members?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. But you know them as you have previously described as collaborating in some fashion or other?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. CLARDY. It is of course possible, and we want everyone to be actually as fair as they possibly can. It is possible that some of them may be dupes or may be innocently brought in because they are naive or for some other reason, not necessarily because they are actually Communists or even Communist sympathizers?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, that is possible.

Mr. DOYLE. What year was that?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is 1939. I did not get to the later editions of the Protestant Digest and the Protestant. What I am trying to point out here is that there were persons who served at one time or another on the Protestant who dropped out. What the reasons were, I do not know, but there are others who were consistently on the editorial board of the Protestant over a period of years, and not only that, their names have appeared in numerous front organizations of the Communist Party following every twist and every turn in the Communist Party line.

I do not know of most of them as card-carrying members of the party. Those that I do I will identify as I go along.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give us the names of those who remained consistently on the editorial board as you just mentioned and who followed the Communist line throughout the years?

Mr. JOHNSON. For example, Jerome Davis was on the editorial board in 1939.

Mr. CLARDY. You were about to name persons whom you are not identifying as Communists but persons who followed the deviations of the Communist Party line.

I want to have it clearly understood at this juncture that as to any other names mentioned up to this moment you are not identifying any of them as Communists unless you have specifically said so when you named them. That is a correct statement; is it not?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. All right, proceed from there.

(Representative Kit Clardy left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. KUNZIG. You stated that the magazine, the Protestant Digest, later called the Protestant, met the various turns of policy of the Soviet Union and the twists and the turns in the Communist line as it went through the years. Could you document that, please, with illustrations taken from the magazine?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I can.

I have here the Protestant Digest, December 1938, the period when the Communist Party was building the united front, and we find in this edition of the Protestant Digest an article by William Spofford. It was a reprint from the Witness, September 22, 1938.

(Representative Kit Clardy reentered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. JOHNSON. The subject of the article is Bill Spofford Hails United Front.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have this document marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 23," and I offer it now in evidence.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The article, Bill Spofford Hails United Front, from the Protestant Digest, December 1938, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 23.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 23

(Protestant Digest, December 1938)

BILL SPOFFORD HAILS UNITED FRONT

(By William B. Spofford in the Witness, September 22, 1938)

The Church League for Industrial Democracy is an organization of the Episcopal Church, composed of approximately 3,000 members, who have pledged themselves to seek to understand the teachings of Christ and to apply them in their own vocations and activities in relation to the present problems of industrial society. There is no connection whatever between the American League for Peace and Democracy and the CLID, or between the Communist Party and the CLID. Some of our members are also members of the American League and accept the program above stated. Others approve of parts and disapprove of other parts. CLID members are, of course, free to join the American League or not as they see fit—or to oppose it if that is their conviction. The proposal was made at the last national meeting of the CLID that we affiliate with the American League. The proposal was overwhelmingly defeated, and as executive secretary I opposed affiliation. I did state, however, that I personally accepted the program of the American League and asked that I be allowed as an individual to cooperate with the organization. This was voted and I have since been active in the American League and am at present proud to be vice chairman.

In regard to the Communist Party, it is, of course, a secular organization, based upon a materialistic philosophy, and for this reason is quite properly opposed by Christians. Their ultimate purpose is so to order society throughout the world that communism will be universal. However, because of the present world situation, with wars in Spain and China and with the Fascist powers threatening other democratic nations, they have set aside their ultimate objectives in order to join forces in a United Front to maintain peace and democracy. Just as a United Front, including the Communists, was necessary in China if Japanese aggression was to be resisted (a United Front that has received the blessing of Bishop Roots and I think I am safe in saying all our missionaries); just as Hitlerism might have been avoided in Germany and democracy maintained if the people had created a United Front (as Martin Niemöller told a group of us in Berlin last summer just three days before his arrest); so I believe a United Front must be built in the United States if democracy is to be maintained and war avoided. And an effective United Front is built not by various groups stressing their differences but rather by setting aside their differences and uniting wholeheartedly in a minimum program. The Communists, as far as my experience means anything, are sincere in their desire for a United Front and are effective workers for it. Therefore, I am happy to join forces with them, and others, on this minimum program for peace and democracy. When and if they change their "line" (and I do not believe I shall be so innocent as not to know) it is probably that I shall part company with them.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like to present to the committee an article published in the Protestant, April-May 1942. The author of the article is David Easton, and is an article in which he follows the Com-

munist Party line on religion by attempting to show in this article that Marxism and democracy and a liberal religious faith are one.

Mr. CLARDY. All right, let us have that marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 24."

Mr. KUNZIG. It is marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 24."

I now offer it in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The article referred to from the Protestant, April-May 1942, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 24.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 24

(The Protestant, April-May 1942, pp. 52-55)

SPIRITUALITY AND MARX

(By David Easton)

Marx explains "self-alienation" as it appears in our present form of society:

The more the worker expends his labor, the more powerful becomes the alien objective world which he creates outside himself, and the poorer he and his inner world become and the less he can call his own. * * * Not only does his work become an external object, but it exists outside of him as an independent and alien thing. It becomes a self-sufficient power over him. The life which he has lost to the object confronts him as strange and alien. * * * The estranged relation of the worker to his work expresses itself in the relation of capitalist to worker. Private property is thus result and necessary expression of the estranged relation of the worker to himself and to nature (Marx-Engels, *Gesamtausgabe* (Ed. V. Adoratskij), Abt. 1, Bd. 3, pp. 83-84, 91. Trans. mine).

For Marx the idea of self-alienation expresses the fact that concentration of wealth and forces of production in a few hands means spiritual impoverishment for the majority of men. In this state men lose their freedom—the product of their labor and even their tools become powers over them.

Marx believed that "to be a man" really means "to work," to transform nature for human ends. In this way nature is integrated with humanity, and each product of labor incarnates the personality of man. Through work man "makes the whole of nature his inorganic body." But when the product of labor is "alienated," the personality of man is diminished and stunted. Marx wanted to suppress the alienation of labor. He believed that man can realize and fulfill his personality through a socialist society. This entails "the positive dissolution of private property, as human self-alienation, and thus the genuine appropriation of the attributes of humanity by and for mankind." The new society, Marx said, can produce "as a continual reality, man in all the richness of his being, the complete and well-rounded man."

The young Marx called his view of man "realistic humanism" or "completed naturalism." It is the groundwork of his well-known historical materialism. Marx' view of man went beyond Feuerbach who stopped with the abstract isolated individual and did not see that "only in community with others has each individual the means of cultivating his gifts in all directions." Man's self-alienation and the way to his self-fulfillment became the motif of Marx' thought and endeavor. It runs through all his writings. It implies a particular theory of education:

The education of the future will combine productive labor with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings (Capital, I, 529).

It may seem that Marx's historical determinism leaves no room for effective human action and development. But Marx never denied that the purposes and acts of men are motors of history. He approved of Vico's observation that "Human history differs from natural history in this, that we have made the former, but not the latter." In an early letter he criticized Feuerbach's materialism for being "merely naturalistic and not historical" for not taking account of human efforts, particularly in politics. For Marx "History is nothing else than the activity of man pursuing his own aims." And man is to be conceived as

"a living conscious thing" rather than a pure disembodied spirit. Following these leads, Soviet philosophers recently attacked "economism" which "neglects personalities, wills, and temperaments as historical facts." And in 1930 K. N. Kornilov of Moscow University wrote a criticism of any view which "either flatly denies the existence of human consciousness or identifies it with mechanical movements of matter."

Marx's determinism is simply an assertion that historical events have discoverable causes. He denies that human action is free in the sense of being uncaused. There is regularity and lawfulness in human events as every social scientist supposes. Out of the conflicts and agreements of many individual acts there comes regularity and continuity. In this sense social movements are independent of the individual will and intelligence. Marx's determinism implies simply that the actions of an individual or a group have definite antecedents and consequences. Is this a denial of human freedom? By no means. Marx always distinguished between historical and merely natural events. He insisted that men are moved to action by their purposes and needs. This, it seems to me, is the substance of human freedom. It is self-determination. It is the condition of all our choices. Without such determination "guilt," "responsibility," and "moral education" would be empty words. Human purposes and preferences are always affected by other parts of the historical process. In their origin, their specific content, and in their effectiveness they are conditioned by the given productive forces and relations—by other social facts which all presuppose man's conscious transformation of nature through his work.

All of Marx's writings are a condemnation of those economic and social arrangements which disallow fully developed human beings. He condemned the social system which "converts the laborer into a crippled monstrosity" and at the same time creates a leisure class of effete, parasitical, and pleasure-hunting animals. He condemned the social scheme which leaves "no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest" and resolves "personal worth into exchange value." For Marx the cultivation and sharing of art is essential to the complete life. He deplored the sacrifice of art to the gods of profit and business. The treatment of poetry, painting, music, etc., as mere commodities rather than "products *sui generis*" was accepted as one of the tragic ironies of our time. And Marx persistently denounced the prostitution of science and education for the sake of profits.

The relation of Marxism to religion will never be understood if we stop with the slogan, "Religion is the opium of the people." We should remember that Marx's sallies were primarily against those forms of religion which belittle man and discount his ideal aims. His criticism was a response to "the categorical imperative to overthrow all conditions in which man is a degraded, servile, neglected, contemptible being." In one of his letters Marx wrote, bitterly, that after the Greeks the essential dignity of man disappeared from the world. Historical Christianity too much emphasized man's worthlessness and the vanity of any effort to change his present estate.

It is clear that Marx's attack on religion is primarily an attack on supernaturalism or other wordliness which is indifferent to human needs and development. His views are quite in harmony with humanistic and naturalistic philosophies of religion. They are altogether acceptable to those who, with Matthew Arnold, find the essence of religion to be "morality touched by emotion." But with the "new supernaturalism" Marxism clashes on fundamental issues. The extreme supernaturalists of our day condemn as false any view which denies man's "creatureliness" and commits "the sin of pride." Still, many of the new supernaturalists use the Marxian way of understanding social events as they try to answer present demands of the transcendent ideal.

The stimulus to Marx's moral passion was an awareness that great numbers of men never get to the human level of existence. Only a part of each man is developed. Too many are "appendages of machines" and "laboring cattle." Life begins when they leave work which is alien and thus fearsome. Marx wanted to change this condition. He wanted to get rid of those property arrangements which cause human self-alienation. He sought to unfetter technology for the benefit of all so that human lives might be more complete and rounded out. All men, he deeply believed, must have the chance to know the value of camaraderie for its own sake, the liberation and romance of learning, and the lasting pleasures in art. These things are out of reach when man's work becomes an alien power over him that diminishes his personality.

Marx expanded the Greek ideal of harmonious self-development. He removed it from aristocratic contemplation and related it to social action. For Aristotle

the ideal type of man was one who, like the Unmoved Mover, needs only to contemplate. Likewise, Marx opposed Hegel's view of man. Hegel did think of man as a process and thus the result of his own work. But the only kind of work he recognized was abstract spiritual work or pure mental activity. In Marx's view the complete man is one who works; he acts in society and actually transforms nature of human ends. All of his socially developed senses and spiritual organs are instruments for "the humanization of nature." This is Marx's view of man which he called *realistic humanism*. It gives deeper meaning to his favorite maxim: "Nihil humani a me alienum puto." In this respect, as well as others, Marxism and democracy and a liberal religious faith are as one.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, do you know Easton as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not know of my personal knowledge whether he is or whether he is not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. You are not at this time making any accusation that the gentleman named is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; I am not at this time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further documents, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I have.

I have in my hand a copy of the Protestant Digest of January 1940, which shows that the Protestant Digest worked against America's entry into the war at the time when the Communist line was peace for America as long as Russia and Germany were tied together in a pact.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have this document in my hand marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 25," and I offer it into evidence at this point.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The copy of the Protestant Digest, January 1940, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 25.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 25

(Protestant Digest, January 1940, pp. 68-73)

TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC PEACE

By Harry F. Ward

* * * * *

Can We Do It?

We are now back to the old international law concept of neutrality. Like the Soviet we are technically willing to sell to both sides. Actually we mean to help the allies, relying on the cash-and-carry provisions and the British blockade to make it impossible for Germany to buy here. If she can get something by a roundabout way through neutrals, we will take the profits on that, too.

This is a better protection against the consequences of war trade than we had in 1914-1917. How effective is it? Is the desire for profit, and the need for profit tamed and under control? The first attempt to break through the cash restriction by substituting 90 days' credit for cash on the barrelhead, has been defeated by popular protest. But the same interests who tried that are now hoping that the clause which provides that insurance does not constitute an American interest in goods or ships will afford them a loophole; and the British Minister of Supply naturally says they are examining the bill to see if there is not a possibility of getting around the cash restriction by arrangements with private business. The Wall Street Journal has hopes. The attempt to evade the carry restriction by transfer to foreign registry, and the official support it has secured, indicates the necessity to continually watch and expose attempts to evade or change the restrictions on war trade designed to lessen the risk of our being drawn into the war.

The Danger Points

Popular support will gather behind such attempts if and when there is any danger of Hitler winning, and if the war lasts until the allies' cash is gone and orders and jobs begin to fall off. War trade on a cash basis has its own way of producing economic pressures on the side of our entering the war. The anticipation of immediate orders which are not forthcoming has already created a small boom with no base. The concentration of orders on airplanes and a few other things, and the need of conserving cash for a possibly long struggle, is already reducing British purchases of basic necessities that we have been supplying. The prosperity we get from war orders will be very spotty. The effects of the transfer of British and French securities here to pay for their orders, along with additional transfer of gold, will load us up still more with idle capital. The net result will be an increase in our total economic insecurity, a psychological situation which always brings war nearer.

To offset these tendencies it would be necessary to make much larger Government expenditures for social gains, whereas the reactionaries who succeeded in limiting these in the last session of Congress expect to do worse in 1940. Those who seek to check the rise of a war spirit in this Nation will need to be able to defeat reaction at this point and to protect the living standards of the people by exposing and leading them to stop all war profiteering as soon as it begins.

If the war lasts the cold-blooded military experts have a formula for the time when the economic and propaganda pressures will actually begin to take us in. It is the ratio between our supply of the instruments of war to the allied manpower available for their use. When the production flow of war materials from our plants becomes greater than the capacity of their armies, there will be both need for our manpower and propaganda to get it. The danger to democracy will then suddenly become very acute in the headlines. Those who would expose and resist this must know their economic facts. It is of no more avail to shout "keep out of war" than it was to vote that way in 1916. If the underlying forces are again working as they were then, they will take us in. The first step in getting them under control is to continually explain to the people exactly what is happening.

What About China?

Since England now has no war supplies to spare for Japan, that country needs to draw more heavily upon us than even our present 54 percent of her imported materials for war. Our new war-trade legislation does not apply, for the legal fiction of an undeclared war still remains. If that situation continues, only an embargo can end our partnership in the invasion of China. If Japan declares war our present legislation will still help Japan more than China, for she can only get supplies through neutrals willing to run the blockade, while Japan has both cash and ships. * * * The only prevention would be a Presidential ban on scrap iron and oil on the ground of our own needs, plus discrimination under the tariff law when our trade treaty ends in January. Our present protests to Japan are entirely in terms of our own trade interests and lead either to war or a compromising assent to Japanese control in China. Our moral obligation to China calls clearly for a renewed demand for an embargo on war supplies to Japan until she takes her armies out of China.

Incitements to War

Incitements to war will naturally be continuous. There is and will be propaganda, with its inevitable atrocity stories, to be exposed. There will be incidents infringing upon our rights, and inhuman deeds, against which our emotions will need to be steeled. There are sympathies to be watched lest they betray us. Those responsible for forming public opinion will need constantly to ask some questions and answer them from the unfolding facts. What are the war aims of the allies? Can the people who helped destroy democracy in Austria, Spain, and Czecho-Slovakia do anything for it now? Can Hitler and Hitlerism be stopped by war? Will the victory of the allies produce anything better than it did at Versailles with all its consequences? How can a repetition, in even worse form, of the cycle which produced the present disaster, be prevented?

A New Devil

A dangerous feature in recent developments is the propaganda of incitement against the Soviet Union. It fairly shrieks from the headlines and thunders from the editorials. Stalin has replaced Hitler for most of the American people as the

devil to be feared. Stories are told one week on the front page and the facts which deny them are the next week buried in the back of the papers. The Soviets had betrayed and abandoned China to its fate, we were told. Now come the facts concerning increased supplies. Tons of Russian gold were on their way to Germany. Now it appears they are in Dutch banks for Soviet purchases in the United States. Yet our liberals, so shocked by the change in Soviet policy, are still prepared to believe the worst. Usually they do not even mention, let alone assess, Chamberlain's part in that change. Our Government talks in sterner tones * * * to Stalin than to Hitler. It says nothing when two score of our ships are interned by the allies; it protests when one is held in a Soviet port.

All this provides the emotional background for what? Among the possibilities is the cry for a holy war against the pagan Nazis and the atheistic Communists. The Vatican has laid the groundwork for it. Two of our most widely read columnists are calling for a union of all forces to beat back the barbarians of the East before they destroy all the values of civilization. In the event of an alliance between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, the cry for a holy war would develop hysteria overnight in this nation. God is a more powerful sanction for modern mass slaughter than democracy.

There is another and more cold-blooded prospect for the use of the moral emotions now being aroused against Russia and it coincides with the property interest and the fear of social change suddenly revealed by this animus. The plan of a section of the British Tories is to restore a reactionary Government in Germany, the kind that we helped to overthrow in 1918. There is talk of bolstering this by a monarchical Catholic state in central Europe. In any event a reactionary Germany is to be turned eastward again, looking toward that attack upon the Soviet Union which is the historic necessity of the Tory imperialists. In this eventuality the support of the United States in one way or another is sought.

In these circumstances those who feel an obligation to pass moral judgments on the Soviet Union must realize the risk involved. It is the same risk which was taken by those who passed moral judgments upon Hitler, and they took precautions to get them executed without war. The least that can be done by those who stand in a similar position in relation to the Soviet Union is to see that their judgments are exact and are based on all the facts.

Some Facts

Most of those who now put the actions of the Soviet on the same plane with those of Hitler, have read only the newspaper case against the Soviet. Their side is now available in English through the speeches of Molotov. He declares their main motivation to be self-protection, with the hope that their course will make for peace. On questions of fact the British point of view, more hard-headed than ours despite their more vital interests, supports the Russians on some points. Chamberlain's latest speech on November 9 says: "On the other hand, the pact between Germany and the Soviet Union has given indeed great advantages for the Soviet Union, but it has brought only humiliation and loss for Germany." Chamberlain has officially justified the Soviet entry into Poland as a defense measure. And this was not merely a tactical move on the score of neutrality. The additional fact that he has debarred the Polish Government in Paris from making any claim to the territory involved indicates his conclusion that this Government has no moral or legal title to territory which it took by force from the Soviet contrary to the Versailles decision.

This places the Soviet action against Hitler rather than the Polish Government. The technical point in the question of aggression is whether the border was crossed before or after the Polish Government had ceased to function. The correspondent of the London Times, who was in the area at the moment, states that the Government was out of commission. This left the territory either to Hitler or the Soviet, from which it was originally taken.

Concerning the charge of a previous plan of partition, Gedye, the Moscow correspondent of the New York Times, with a long and honorable experience in Vienna and Prague, affirms that he can find no proof of it. The record of the Soviet of keeping their pledge to Czechoslovakia, publicly confirmed by members of that Government, coincides with the charge of the total political opposition to Chamberlain in England, including many conservatives, that he, and not the Soviet Union, was responsible for the breakdown of the negotiations between them. If this is correct it left the Soviet faced with continuous manoeuvres against them with no alternative but to protect themselves as best

they could. Their moves can only be understood in the light of the fear psychology developed by continuous attacks upon them, and threats against them, which are met by Lenin's strategy of playing off one enemy against another in turn.

This explains the policy in relation to the Baltic States and Finland. Weeks before this developed the Ambassadors of these states in Washington told the New Republic correspondent that the key to Soviet policy was the impossibility of defending Leningrad as long as the approaches to the Gulf of Finland were controlled by other powers. This is equally true of its nearness to the Finnish border, and it involves the whole northern industrial section of Russia proper. It is the fear of future attack from either or both Germany or Great Britain which dominates the situation. Those who interpret Soviet action only in terms of power politics, and talk of socialist imperialism, are thinking too narrowly in their habitual pattern. Those who think that Russia might have stayed within her own borders usually ignore tactical necessities in the face of enemies in the field, and generally forget that a socialist state in a capitalist world is still subject to the laws of State nature. Since all States sin the question is, are these sinners above the others, or below the others, in this modern Jerusalem? The answer to that must be found in the terms of their contracts with, and the future development of, those smaller States which of necessity must either be in the orbit of Germany, Great Britain, or the Soviet until the day when there is a commonwealth of socialized nations in Europe. Meantime, the terms of the Soviet concessions in the Baltic States and Finland should be compared with Hitler's terms in Czecho-Slovakia, Britain's in India and ours in Cuba.

Our Democracy

The question of the outcome of the moral emotions now being aroused against the Soviet also has another bearing. Here they are being translated into anti-Communism, and this is being used under the leadership of Dies in a new red hunt which promises, under other leadership, to be more intelligent, as well as more ruthless, than that under Mitchell Palmer after the last war. The foundations of our democracy are being assailed under the cry of saving it from the reds. Even if we manage to stay out of the war, it is clear that we have a continuous and difficult job to protect our democratic rights from the massed attack of reaction, using war-time feelings for its dynamic. A later Bulletin will deal with this question.

A Democratic Peace

Those who seek a democratic peace must begin to work for it now. Because of the contribution of our economic resources to the allied cause, as well as because of our security and our professed ideas, we have an obligation as a neutral to secure at the earliest possible moment a conference of all the interested nations to face the basic issues involved in the War. They are three: the ending of aggression and imperialist domination with restitution for the dispossessed nations and minorities; disarmament; meeting the economic needs of all nations by reciprocal arrangements.

* * * * *

Our present protests to Japan are entirely in terms of our own trade interests and lead either to war or a compromising assent to Japanese control in China.

* * * * *

In the event of an alliance between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia the cry for a holy war would develop hysteria overnight. God is a more powerful sanction for modern mass slaughter than democracy.

Mr. JOHNSON. I have an article entitled "Two Speeches by Kenneth Leslie."

Mr. KUNZIG. What is the date of the article?

Mr. JOHNSON. October-November 1942, the Protestant. The subject of the article, The Second Front.

This article was written after Hitler's attack on Russia, and it was in accord with the Communist Party's national campaign to compel America to go along with Soviet Russia on the opening up of a second front in Europe.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have this document marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 26," Mr. Chairman, and I offer it into evidence at this point.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The article entitled "Two Speeches by Kenneth Leslie" from the Protestant, October-November 1942, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 26.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 26

(The Protestant, October-November 1942, pp. 47-50)

TWO SPEECHES BY KENNETH LESLIE¹

THE SECOND FRONT

In gangster film language Fascism is the crook district attorney who is using two gunmen from Murder, Inc. (the Japanese and German nationalists) to do the dirty heavy work on the modern liberal democratic world against which the Counter Reformation is aimed. After they have done their work they will be disavowed and double-crossed. Fascism plans to step in later on when the modern liberal democratic world is staggering from the attentions of the gunmen, and, strange as it may seem, to save the modern liberal democratic world from the gunmen—on one condition. The condition will be that it must renounce its modern ideas of liberalism, equality, democracy, and go back to the obedience, discipline, and authority of the pre-Reformation era.

In this connection you must certainly have noticed the strange concert of propaganda drives exalting the virtues of obedience and authority for our youth and decrying the lack of discipline in our youth. That such propaganda was a libel on American youth has been amply proved by the magnificent discipline shown by American youth in the Army, in the Navy, in the factory, and in the merchant marine. This talk of discipline and obedience was brought here and planted here with Fascist money—the same money that financed Hitler. In other words, to go back to the Fascist plan whose pattern grows clearer every day—you, the people, will be saved by those who think they know what is best for you. You will not only be saved from Hitler-Hirohito Murder, Inc., you will be saved from yourselves, the people. For you the people as the rulers of yourselves are the only enemies of those who would rule you. It is as simple as that.

In America the people rule themselves through their President, in England through their Prime Minister. They are very fortunate and very wise to have elected Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill as their deputies. Both of these men can be trusted. You can depend upon them. But can they depend upon you? You can depend upon them to do your will *only if they can depend upon you to let them know what your will is.*

Many ask: Why bother Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt about the war? They know better about it than you can possibly know. They have access to facts of which, for strategic reasons, you cannot have knowledge. They have at their elbows all the experts. They don't need your advice. Such an objection is the objection of a Fascist.

For, leaving aside the somewhat sensitive point about the experts (the experts haven't fared at all well so far in this war), it is vital to the democratic cause that the democratic chiefs keep in touch with the people. And (follow this) it is vital to the Fascist cause that the democratic chiefs are kept out of touch with the people. That's why I say this is a Fascist objection.

Fascism who literally swarm in the democracies, using democratic methods and democratic language and democratic protective coloration are putting pressure directly and indirectly, visibly and invisibly, on our democratic chiefs who many times cannot recognize it and can hardly protect themselves from it if they could recognize it, because it comes so well protected and in such legally regularized forms.

Legal citizens with Fascist hearts bring this pressure twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. They are the famous fifth column; they play for high stakes, no less than the undoing of the human gains of the past four hundred

¹From an address broadcast over WFIL, Philadelphia, August 3, 1942, arranged by the Philadelphia Protestant Associates.

years; they are thrilled with the thrill of titanic destruction; they have waited long and hungrily for this great moment in which they will carry out the anathema against tolerance.

Not only do American and British citizens bring this pressure but the accredited and befriended representatives in Britain and America of Fascist Spain and Fascist France and Fascist Finland also bring pressure. They bring pressure not only on our chiefs but upon us, the people, as well, confusing and bewildering us, but upon their own sorely tried people the Spanish, the French, the Finnish, who see us entertaining and befriending the representatives of Fascist power in those unhappy lands. They wonder why we have taken delivery of these Fascists in the first place, and why, now that they are known and ticketed and catalogued, we do not invite them to leave.

The reason I say that our chiefs need pressure is that they get pressure from the other side to keep these agents here and if they could receive a little pressure from us who want them out of here, they would be sent out of here. Our chiefs are not supermen, not fuhrers, just our own deputies, and they very much depend on popular agitation for every move they make.

Now I have mentioned the friendship, the anomolous friendship, the embarrassing friendship we retain for Fascists who are supposed to be our enemies, and, I have not yet mentioned the topic named for these remarks. Namely, the second front, which should perhaps better be called simply our share of the war.

The Russians are doing their share. This is admitted, even by their enemies. This is admitted by those who call themselves friends of Russia but who look on Russia only as a convenience and who inwardly hope that she won't become such a great convenience that she will prove to be an inconvenience. The Russians are, in fact, fighting the Germans. This much is accepted. The Russians have suffered heavy losses in men, land and material. Five million men, 600 thousand square miles of land (equal to the land in England, Germany and France), three quarters of its mineral production and the Ukraine wheatlands. [This was in August.]

More than 50 million Russians now live under the swastika.

These terrible losses may be taken lightly in this country. They may inwardly comfort certain haters of the land of socialism. But they are nothing less than stark tragedy to the Russian people. How can we ask them to understand our friendship for Mannerheim of Finland who adds the weight of his Fascist army to their already unbearable woes?

Can you not see the Russian soldier, the Russian farmer, shaking his head slowly from side to side and saying to himself: "Second Front. Second Front. So much talk of a second front * * * yet how is this? Not only is there no second front * * * not only have we to bear the weight of the whole Nazi army but the Finnish army as well. They say they can't open a second front. They say they *want to* but can't. What is it then that makes them support the Finnish front against us by recognizing the Finnish Government, long ago tied hand and foot to the Nazi scorpion?

So you see how these questions are all part of the same question. Fascism is a world movement. A world conspiracy, woven in one pattern, of one cloth. Until we, the people, see this, we are lost, and rhetoric cannot save us. Not even the noble rhetoric of Henry Wallace.

We do not yet see it.

The problem of the opening of the second front is one part of the whole problem of the world anti-Fascist war which is still not being made. We are chasing the gunmen while entertaining the crooked district attorney in our home.

And even if we beat Hitler and Hirohito, the killers, we shall not have helped ourselves the least bit if in doing so we make any commitments to the polite district attorney Fascist who let them loose on us in the first place.

With regard to the military aspects of opening a European land front against the axis, it naturally behooves a layman to talk with diffidence and caution. Only the extreme urgency of the situation forces amateur opinion to express itself. As I have indicated, I do not believe it is skill we lack. It is will we lack. And that is my chief concern here today. But even the most skillful professionals sometimes get so close to their problem that they lose their perspective. Moreover, although they may think their politics does not influence them, it does. This political bias was clearly indicated when they predicted that Russia would fold up before the Nazi drive last year. This was the military eye blinded by the political eyeglasses.

So today I stress the political unity of Fascism whose agents and whose way of thinking are the unrecognized enemy in our midst and whose agents at least must be put out of our midst before we can save ourselves. It is true that there is a great risk in giving battle to the Nazis on European soil. We might be beaten. That is true of any battle. It is not the spirit in which the Russians fight. It is not the spirit in which the British Commandos fight. The Canadians will not open the second front in *that spirit*. They will go in to win. Their commander, General MacNaughton, knows exactly what he is up against. Yet he and they are anxious to get over and get it over. This risk which opponents of giving battle fear, is courted gladly by those who will have to bear the risk.

Hitler's men, tougher, cockier than ever, *if and when* they turn West once more, having (the possibility must be faced) *for the time being*, stabilized their Eastern front, will let loose on the concentrated target of England, an attack which it is horrible to contemplate. Before that happens, before that *can* happen, before they get the jump on us (as they have done so sickeningly often) and slaughter our boys in their British camps, let those boys have a chance to show their stuff.

Now is the time, while Hitler's armies are caught deep in the Caucasus rat-trap, to spring the trap by opening the Western Front.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like to show to the committee an article from the Protestant, June-July 1942, *Whose Property Is This War?* by Kenneth Leslie, in which he calls for the making of Timoshenko, the Russian military commander, commander in chief of the whole allied forces.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have this marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 27," Mr. Chairman, and offer it into evidence at this point.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The article, *Whose Property Is This War?* from the Protestant, June-July 1942, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 27.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 27

(The Protestant, June-July 1942, p. 4)

WHOSE PROPERTY IS THIS WAR?

By Kenneth Leslie

TIMOSHENKO FOR ALLIED CHIEF

If in the last war, the so-called great war, it became necessary to forge a unified command under the chieftanship of Marshall Foch, it becomes all the more necessary in this war, because of its even more complicated nature and its global character, to achieve a similar single coordinating head.

The people are watching very carefully the materialization of the promised second front. It could be opened just *too late*. It could be opened just *too little*. Big business is as yet not quite willing to gear its effort wholeheartedly with Russia, and therefore the gears of the global war are with monotonous repetition being stripped to the bone-crushing tune of *too little, too late*.

Any projected second front, in order to be honestly effective, must be geared to the Russian front for both military and political reasons.

For political reasons, because Russia is the only country without fifth and sixth columnists. In other words, Russia is where Hitler first found all-out resistance, and therefore the people of the world, while in nowise withholding their undying gratitude to the heroic defenders of Madrid and Chunking, *must* look upon Russia as the champion anti-Fascist fighter.

For military reasons, because so far Russia alone has been able to speak the new military language of Germany, having learned it at a time when British and American military experts were still fumbling with its ABC's.

Since the fronts must be coordinated it appears elementary that the coordination should be directed by the man most experienced in German war tactics and of most proven ability to cope with them: That is General Semyon Timoshenko, who would appear, therefore, to be the logical choice to head the Supreme Military Command of the United Nations.

Let Timoshenko fit the driving shaft to the tread of the allied war machine, and it will move smoothly and swiftly upon the Axis and will bury it deep in the bowels of the earth where its stench will fade from the memory of men.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like to give you also a quotation from the Protestant, December-January 1942. The subject is God's Red Army, I quote:

It is not because Russia has saved us that we thank God for the Red Army. It is not even because Russia has saved for us the opportunity to save ourselves. Indeed, it is not because of anything to do with us either individually or nationally. It is simply because of what Russia is and because of the quality of the Red Army itself, the spiritual quality of its soldiers, the way its soldiers feel toward its people, the way its soldiers feel toward their enemies—this is why listening to our inmost voice we hear ourselves thanking God for the Red Army.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have this document in hand, Mr. Chairman, and offer it as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 28 into evidence.

Mr. CLARDY. It may be received.

(The quotation "God's Red Army," from the Protestant, December-January 1942, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 28.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 28

(The Protestant, December-January 1942, pp. 2 and 3)

GOD'S RED ARMY

"Timoshenko"—Password to Sanity

"Russia has shown wisdom in the distinction she consistently and conspicuously draws between Hitlerite Germany and the German people."—BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

"Our Red Army men know what they are defending. They are defending the youngest country in the world, the land of youth. We are the first in the world to construct a society based not on greed but on the cult of labor, on creative activity, on human solidarity.

"We defend the laud of real culture against barbarism. Dr. Goebbels once said: 'The printed word nauseates me.' Our reply was to publish Goethe's works in 700,000 copies in eight languages.

"I saw German fascists humiliating Frenchmen in Paris. In Warsaw they destroyed the monument of the great Polish poet Mickiewicz: in our country his poems are published in hundreds of thousands of copies. In our country Kirghiz actors come to Moscow. Jubilees of Armenian and Georgian poets are celebrated throughout our land. It would never occur even to a hooligan to offend anyone because of his nationality.

"Our youth is defending the great cultural heritage of Russia against the maniacs who measure genius and heart by the shape of the skull. Our youth is fighting for our land, for our liberty. They are fighting also for the liberty of the world. They are fighting for human dignity. They are fighting for the rights of Paris, desecrated by the executioners, for the University of Prague, for proud Norway, for the huts of the Serbs, for the Acropolis."

—ILYA EHRENBURG.

It is not because Russia has saved us that we thank God for the Red Army.

It is not even because Russia has saved for us the opportunity to save ourselves. Indeed, it is not because of anything to do with us either individually or nationally.

It is simply because of what Russia is and because of the quality of the Red Army itself, the spiritual quality of its soldiers, the way its soldiers feel toward its people, the way its soldiers feel toward their enemies. This is why, listening to our innermost voice, we hear ourselves thanking God for the Red Army.

In fact there are those who put it the other way around: they thank the Russians for renewing their faith in a God they had begun to doubt. One writes:

"They have sure pulled me out of some tough spots. My circle of wolves is small and for that very reason close and ready. When things look black I say a word to myself, 'Timoshenko.' It is a password to sanity."

This is so true. There are many dark spots on this dark earth which the sacrificial blood of these selfless Soviet soldiers has brightened and redeemed.

The Vansittarts and the Duff Coopers of England who repeat the old anti-German racism to cover their own race egotism should stand in shame before the armed citizens of the Soviet. For the Soviet men spurn such criminal stupidity and regard the German soldiers as their temporarily misguided brothers.

So too the American racist, curbed by the words and actions of that bravely wise woman, Eleanor Roosevelt, may study to advantage his new ally.

There are some things he must learn from his Russian brother in arms if both are to live in one world, not white, nor colored, but human. It would be embarrassing for an American to find himself talking about "the yellow bastards" and to turn around and find a Red soldier reproving him for his fascist mentality.

"Remember Pearl Harbour" is a poor slogan for the effort of this nation. Those who are acting on this slogan and those it took such a slogan to unite are those who fight only on the lowest level, the level of mere survival. Surely we can do better than this.

"Remember Chungking" for instance would mean that we remembered the 10,000 "Pearl Harbours" we made possible in China during the four years we dispensed oil and junk to the perpetrator of those 10,000 "Pearl Harbours." A long way it is to the lost and buried and forgotten conscience of our Western World. But best of all might be "Remember our humiliating exclusion of the Japanese." We can only be forgiven our trespasses if we remember that we trespassed.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like also to submit to you an article from the Protestant, April 1939; the subject, "Why Not Be Fair to the Soviet Union?" by Jerome Davis.

Mr. CLARDY. That, I assume, to further identify it, is just another twist in the party line.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I specifically wish to call the attention of the committee to the last 5 paragraphs.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have this document marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 29," and I offer it into evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 29, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The article, Why Not Be Fair to the Soviet Union? from the Protestant, April 1939, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 29.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 29

(The Protestant, April 1939, pp. 57 and 58)

WHY NOT BE FAIR TO THE SOVIET UNION?

[Excerpt]

By Jerome Davis

Christianity has for nearly two thousand years proclaimed its high ideals to the world. The Sermon on the Mount, if it was actually carried out would shatter and supersede our existing capitalistic system. Yet after two thousand years we still have lynchings in the United States, gross exploitation of labor, and even shootings in the back of innocent workers by the state.

Communism has perhaps come nearer to bringing in equality and justice for the common working class in twenty years than the Czar's Christianity had in centuries. Let us recognize then that given another hundred years Russia may make some progress towards more freedom of expression. She may perhaps modify her drastic treatment of opponents. At least as Christians confronted with the horrible crimes of wars supported in the name of Christianity we can hardly afford to throw stones.

Strange as it may seem the Soviet Union has a more consistent peace record than any other nation. It has offered completely to disarm to any point on which the other nations can agree. It is the Christian nations that have blocked disarmament.

Her successes have come because she has struggled to abolish exploitation and bring in justice for the working class of the world. In doing this she has met with violence from the so-called Christian forces and her philosophy is to meet violence with violence, if that is necessary.

Nothing that has here been said is intended to imply that no serious evils exist within the Soviet Union, but rather that in the endeavor to bring about international peace and good will, we ought at least to understand one another. Those who genuinely understand the Soviet Union will go back to their own countries, determined to do all in their power to end exploitation and bring about justice at home before they begin to throw stones abroad.

Dr. Jerome Davis, who taught for thirteen years at the Yale Divinity School, is again taking a very select group to Europe this summer for the Bureau of University Travel. The group will visit eleven countries, interviewing the leaders in the governments as well as taking in the major points of interest.

Last summer, in London, the group met with Malcolm McDonald, British Minister of Colonies; spent an evening with Professor Harold Laski of the London School of Economics; conferred with the well-known author, G. D. H. Cole; and heard the Foreign Minister, Lord Halifax.

The total cost of the trip, New York to New York, is \$695, including all expenses.

The cooperative movement will be studied in Denmark and Sweden.

All those interested should write immediately to Dr. Davis at 489 Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Connecticut, for further information, since the number who can go is limited.

Mr. JOHNSON. I have one further amazing example, Mr. Clardy, that I would like to give to the committee. It purports to be a letter from one Daniel James, theoretically a sailor in the United States merchant marine, written to Christ, dated Murmansk, U. S. S. R., May 10, 1942. This is a photostat from the Protestant, pages 38 and 39 in the October-November issue of 1942. The article purports to show that all is milk and honey in Russia, and that in Russia is the new rebirth of freedom and religious purity such as is associated with Christianity.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have this document in my hand marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 30," and I offer it in evidence at this time.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received, even though it is almost a sacrilege to bring it into the record.

Mr. KUNZIG. It certainly is.

(The article from the Protestant, October-November 1942, appearing on pages 38 and 39, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 30.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 30

(The Protestant, October-November 1942, pp. 38 and 39)

MEDITATION AT MURMANSK

Daniel James was on the "Lahaina" when she was torpedoed in the Pacific, spent 10 days in an open boat before reaching land, immediately shipped on another boat to Murmansk. That boat was bombed continuously for 10 days by German airplanes. It was after this experience and while Murmansk was under hourly bombing that the following letter was written.

Murmansk, USSR
May 10, 1942

DEAR CHRIST:

After your death new continents and lands were discovered. Cities grew and man's mind grew with them, and learned to comprehend many of nature's mysteries.

Great churches made of carved stone and stained glass, small humble churches of wood and clay, and the church out in the clearing with a stump for a pulpit, they were all used as places to pass on to others your teachings. They called it Christianity after you. Man today, however, is still pretty much the man you knew. Christianity, since your time, has been through hard straits as well as periods in which it flourished. In some countries it became too powerful; all meaning and thought behind your teachings was lost, and in your name, Jesus, fraud, lies, murder, promotion of schemes to rob honest men of their bread and to keep them ignorant, promotion of schemes to create war and betrayal, they were all committed in your name. Millions of good people have been deceived by the Church. "Through our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ * * *," an expression it uses; behind those words plans that made poor working men starve and innocent children to learn evil and hatred, were veiled.

My home is in America, a relatively new country, one that was discovered only 400 years ago. Tonight, and for a little while, I'm living in Soviet Russia, a land 5,000 miles from home. The whole world is at war now. Twenty-five years ago the world was in another war. When the dust of battle had cleared, the world looked and saw a new Russia, one in which there was no church . . . I was taught to believe that this land of Russia was a pit of hell, in which men starved, children walked in bare feet, and women were reduced to the level of some gear in one of our new machines. It was a Godless country in which people walked the streets with sad and hungry faces.

The teachers, the newspapers, and friends did not tell me the truth. It is a Godless country in that the Church is not recognized as it is in other places and your name is not used as a screen for evil. These people call their government Communism. In your doctrine I see a marked similarity to the constitution of these people. You, Christ, were the first to really preach the brotherhood of man. You were the first Communist. There have been many real Communists since your time. They were individuals. Here the great masses are composed of Communists. A woman is as good as a man here. One was the Captain of a ship that came in today. Another is directing the men who are unloading the ships. The people have the necessities of life such as food, a home, and clothing. Luxuries they lack because of the war. All walk and work with determination as though they were going someplace and had a real job to do, one that is their own, one affecting themselves. There is singing and laughter such as one would find among a contented people. All in all, one can say that these people have something to live for and they know it.

The rest of the world has been taught and bred to hate Communism and to associate the word with savagery, butchery, barbarism, hunger, and human degradation. And the very word implies man living with man as brother living with brother.

Well, Jesus, I've written about enough. I just thought that you would like to know that since your death, while you have been crucified in many countries and on many pulpits, far worse than that time on Calvary Hill, your spirit has been reborn in a great people whether consciously or unconsciously. They do not speak of you nor is your name mentioned. All you have is the great happiness of seeing carried out your principles of brotherhood and justice among men on earth. May the rest of the world's workers lift up their eyes to Russia.

So long,

DANIEL JAMES,
Sailor in the U. S. Merchant Marine.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like to submit to the committee an article in the Protestant entitled "Poison Well and the Dean's Book," in which they advocate all ministers should read the dean's book; that is, the Red dean, Hewlett Johnson, entitled, "The Soviet Power."

Mr. KUNZIG. I have this document marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 31," Mr. Chairman. I now offer it into evidence at this time.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The article, Poison Well and the Dean's Book, from the Protestant, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 31.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 31

(The Protestant, October–November 1941, pp. 10 and 11)

POISON WELL AND THE DEAN'S BOOK

Our ministers are one of our important opinion-making groups. They get their information necessarily and much of their viewpoint from newspapers and magazines and books.

When the news is poisoned at the source, as for instance the news of Russia has been poisoned at the source during the past 20 years, the result is that our ministers all innocently and unwittingly have been giving their people false news and views.

That is why we have recommended that the Dean's book, *The Soviet Power*, be read. The chief cry against the Dean's book is that it leaves out the dark side of the Russian picture—the ruthless purges, for instance, of those the Russians said were traitors but our organs of news and views said were simply anti-Stalinists.

Now, criminally late, along comes Joseph E. Davies, who was American ambassador to Russia and who attended the treason trials in person. He confesses in the *American Magazine* (Dec.) he was wrong about them. He says he "missed the boat." He says they were treason trials. He says that through them the traitors and fifth columnists were weeded out in time. He says this is "the real story behind the Russian purges—and one of the chief explanations for the magnificent Russian resistance to the Nazi juggernaut."

So those who have been hiding the Dean's book behind the bookcase can bring it out into the open now and read aloud the liberating truth that is in it. It has sold well over a million copies although this is not mentioned in the best seller lists. Read it. Pass it on. It clears the fog of the past two decades. It shows us Russia and it shows us ourselves. We will send you a bundle of 20 copies for the very low price of \$1.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like to offer to the committee for their consideration a letter written by Anna Louise Strong to the editor of the *Protestant*, in the October–November 1941, edition. Anna Louise Strong, as you know, was editor of the *Moscow News* and was for years one of the most active agents for the Communist International.

Mr. CLARDY. Yes; we have considerable evidence in our records about her, and so do other committees.

Mr. DOYLE. Was her father Josiah Strong, a preacher?

Mr. JOHNSON. Her father was a minister, I think, somewhere out in Nebraska.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have this document marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 32," Mr. Chairman, and offer it into evidence at this time.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The letter written by Anna Louise Strong in the *Protestant*, October–November 1941, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 32.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 32

(The Protestant, October–November 1941, pp. 105 and 106)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I was delighted to read in this morning's paper of the statement that 1,000 Protestant clergymen have made about the U. S. S. R.

I wonder whether you are aware of the extent to which the whole question of religious freedom is especially being used by the Vatican to force the country open to its missionaries. * * * Ever since the Tsar fell, and the Orthodox Church lost its strong political-religious head, the Vatican has hoped to annex the Orthodox Church. It has been training large numbers of priests especially for the purpose; some of them are already in the German-occupied areas. They

have a centuries-old dream of uniting the two great "Catholic" branches of the faith under Rome.

What prevents them is the fact that Soviet law grants freedom of "worship" to the individual but no freedom of "propaganda" to the hierarchy; it does not allow foreign missionaries to come in. Soviet citizens may worship as they like, and their right to so worship is implemented by granting them the free use of church buildings, etc., etc. However, the legal ownership of these buildings is vested in the municipality, and not in the hierarchy; citizens get them in pursuance of their "right to worship" as citizens, and not as a result of any particular brand of faith.

Therefore the Soviet property law acts as a decentralizing influence on the church, and prevents any hierarchy from using its control of property to enforce control of creed. This was from the first the chief cause of the fight between Kremlin and Vatican. * * * Today, the Vatican wants the right to send in missionaries, maintain parochial schools, etc. * * * A very small use of funds and personnel would "revive" a lot of rather moribund old churches, whose congregations find it hard to support their priests. Their pressure, plus outside world pressure, might even be used to revoke the property law and give the Vatican control of buildings.

You will note that the Archbishop of Canterbury is not pushing the crusade for religious freedom. The Church of England has good fraternal relations with the Orthodox Church and doesn't want these complicated by a sudden influx of high-powered missionaries and funds from Rome.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG.

New York, N. Y.

[We are glad to have this word from Anna Louise Strong, but must correct its correction slightly. She says that "Soviet law grants freedom of 'worship' to the individual but not freedom of 'propaganda' to the hierarchy." Not only from the hierarchy does the Soviet law withhold freedom of propaganda but from anti-hierarchical (even antiecclesiastical) Baptists, most of whom are devoted supporters of the Soviet regime. There may be a reason for this, but of the fact there can be no doubt.

I recently spoke to a large meeting of Armenians in New York. These Armenians were all small merchants and therefore not sympathetic to communism. Yet there was unanimity among them in the conviction that the Armenian Church was flourishing in Soviet Armenia. This state of affairs was attributed by the speakers (including an Archbishop) to the fact that their church is in no degree involved in political ambitions.—K. L.]

Mr. JOHNSON. I have another article here from the Protestant which gloats over the passage of the atomic power from the West to the East and is smug over the fact that Russia stole the atomic bomb, and the article speaks also in favor of Mao against the United States. It is in the January-February-March issue of 1950 of the Protestant,

Mr. KUNZIG. I have this document in my hand and have it marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 33," and I now offer it in evidence, Mr. Chairman, at this time.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The article from the Protestant, January-February-March 1950, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 33.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 33

(The Protestant, January-February-March 1950, vol. VIII, No. 6, pp. 4-6)

TITO AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

Louis Adamic is one of the returning travelers from Yugoslavia (he is a native Yugoslav) who have become champions of Tito in his defection from the Russian side of the world struggle.

In his paper Trends & Tides Adamic says he tried to get into Russia and told the Russian officials that he wanted to visit the Soviet Union before going anywhere else because "in the making of peace her responsibility was equal to America's." Yet Adamic admits that the United States is "the world's greatest power." Power carries responsibility. The greater the power the greater the

responsibility. Therefore Russia's responsibility in the making of peace cannot be equal to America's.

Another admission by Adamic: " * * * without her (U. S. S. R.'s) existence Communists could not have so much as dreamed of a revolution in Yugoslavia."

An even more primary fact should be faced: The Soviet Union has been in a state of siege through the whole of her existence right down to the date on which you read these words. True, her influence and power have grown through the years. She is however, even with China and the bomb, not yet strong enough to balance the world coalition against her.

When that day of balance arrives, and not before then shall we have the conditions necessary to begin to make order in the world. These conditions will be such a close approach to equality, industrial and military, between the two power blocs that one side will not be tempted to attack the other.

Since at present the preponderance of power is on the American side it is obvious that the cause of peace is set back by each further accession of power to that side. That is why the defection of Tito to the American side is such a blow to peace.

For we are still living in an era of power politics in which unbalance or preponderance of one power group is latent war. Our destruction of Hiroshima was an act of war against Russia, to push her out of the Pacific. Our seizure of the Pacific bases was an act of war against Russia, the act of a power so awe-inspiring that the rest of the world, including Russia, opened its mouth and said nothing.

The defeat of Germany, Italy, and Japan and the Civil War in China left great power vacuums. The allies of Russia, suddenly turned enemies, tried to fill these vacuums. Up to date they have control of Italy, Japan, and two-thirds of Germany. China they missed out on, but it will take time for China to get herself industrially organized. So that preponderance of power as of this instant remains with the American coalition.

In other words Russia is not yet free from her state of siege. Her enemies are quick to take advantage of any opening. Their aim is clear. It is called containment. It is really elimination—destruction. Their organizations of espionage are constantly on the lookout for weak spots in the ring of Russia's friendly nations. They prepare sabotage and defection. They bribe. They corrupt. They stir up counterrevolution.

It was Chesterton who said that the principal objection to a quarrel is that it interrupts an argument. It is too bad that the United Nations Assembly could not be the scene of an argument between Vishinsky and the Yugoslav Bebler. But the premise of such an argument has been undermined. The premise of argument is mutual respect. The Russian people respect the Yugoslav people, but they cannot respect a regime which Truman and Bevin are using against Russia, the only bulwark defending that same Yugoslavia from counterrevolution and conquest by Capitalism!

TWO JUSTICES

The war today is a war between two justices. One is Capitalist and the other is Communist. One calls itself Christian and holds property sacred. The other calls itself materialist and holds human beings sacred. The war between these two is seen clearly in Italy where peasants are taking away property from big landowners and dividing it up among themselves. This is the ending of a long and fruitless argument. This is a difference resolved by force.

And right here the same thing should be noticed that Adamic noticed about Yugoslavia and that Mao Tse-tung proclaimed about China. This thing could not have happened unless the Soviet had built a backlog of power behind it. Here is an example, one of many, of how the moral power of the Soviet Union is growing. The Gasparri government is moving to relieve land hunger in Italy in answer to the moral challenge of Communism.

This kind of thing is happening all over the world. Right here in America there is a recent quickening of a long-lapsed movement to redress color discrimination. In this movement we are being forced by world public opinion to answer the challenge of the Communist victory over color discrimination. We say: Christianity theoretically knows no color discrimination. Shall we allow Communists to be better Christians than we are and to shame us before the non-Christian world?

So we are morally paced by the Communists!

The same thing will some day happen to our "property justice" which protects the exploitation of labor for profit. This too will go on the defensive when the news gets out that people can enjoy life without exploiting each other. When this happens the war will be at an end.

But today there is only *force majeure*, call it bullying if you like. Vishinsky said, "I hit you with facts, you hit me with votes." At last, however, one of Vishinsky's facts talked the language that bullies understand: Russia joined the ranks of the atomic powers. We have dealt with the meaning of that event in another place.

It takes time for events to work out their meaning. And no one can predict exactly how they will work out. The important thing is to hold fast to the basic realities. In a world struggle such as is going on today, in which for the first time in recorded history there is a real chance for a great revolution to resist the tides of counterrevolution and "stay put," there is no room for any individual, nation, or regional group of nations to put its fate above the fate of the world.

Let us never forget that the infant Spanish Republic was murdered in its cradle *before* the Soviet Power had tempered her steel in a terrible war and had become a great world power.

Capitalist "civilization" sided with the murderers, took the risk of helping them perpetrate their crime because Russia at that time was in no position to prevent it. If you ask Mao Tse-tung why the Capitalist nations didn't do the same job on the Chinese Republic, he will tell you that it was because the Soviet power was absent from no battle of the Chinese Revolution, no skirmish however small. Not by sending soldiers or arms, but by being in the world, a strong threat to the political abortionists.

It is Soviet Power which protects the integrity of Poland and the other people's governments today. It is Soviet Power which no whit less protects the Yugoslavs, as too it protects China and all the revolutionary peoples of Asia. The United States is, as Walter Lippmann says, "not in a position to overthrow Mao Tse-tung * * * to defend Hong Kong or to seal the borders of Indochina, Siam, and Burma. * * * Any attempt on our part to rely on military power—particularly when we cannot exercise it in the area concerned—can result only in the destruction of our influence."

There it is from a conservative who keeps his head on his shoulders. Don't interfere where you can't interfere. But he doesn't quite come clean with the why. That "why" is Soviet Power, the same "why" the new Chinese Republic is born and thrives. That is what Mao says.

Perhaps it is not too late for the Yugoslavs to realize their mistake in letting go of the rock on which they founded their federation. Somehow, at whatever cost, they must get back there where they started.

Mr. JOHNSON. That ends that part of it.

Mr. CLARDY. Let the record show we shall recess at this point until 9:30 a. m. tomorrow.

(Whereupon, at 4:22 p. m., the hearing recessed to 9:30 a. m. Tuesday, July 14, 1953.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NEW YORK CITY AREA—PART 8

(Based on Testimony of Manning Johnson)

TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.
EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 a. m., in room 225-A, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. Kit Clardy presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Kit Clardy and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel.

Mr. CLARDY. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right.

TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON—Resumed

Mr. JOHNSON. I have here an article in my hand from the Protestant entitled "God and Starvation—a True Story by Cedric Belfrage."

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that the same Cedric Belfrage who appeared before this committee in New York in May of this year and took the fifth amendment, refusing to answer questions as to whether he had given espionage material to the Russians during the war as charged by Elizabeth Bentley in public testimony?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. May I interject? As I recall, we asked him some questions about his writing in the magazine in question, the Protestant, and I think he took the fifth amendment on that also.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have that in my hand, a photostatic copy of the article, entitled, "God and Starvation—a True Story," marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 34," and I ask that same be admitted into the record.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The article, God and Starvation—a True Story, from the Protestant was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 34.)

¹ Released by the full committee.

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 34

(The Protestant, October–November 1941, pp. 66–75)

GOD AND STARVATION—A TRUE STORY

(By Cedric Belfrage)

—"Hefner went away."

[Condensed from two chapters of *South of God, the Life of Claude Williams*, by Cedric Belfrage; Modern Age, New York]

"Yes . . . but it's my job to minister to all people. I can't take sides."

"But don't you see that by your very silence you are taking sides? Siding with wealth and property against the multitudes for whom the Nazarene stood?"

* * * * *

There was a strike in Fort Smith, Ark. Relief workers there had been getting 30 cents an hour and averaged 2 or 3 days' work a week. Some were only doing 12 hours a week. The funds to create these jobs came from Washington, but the administration of the work was in the hands of State authorities, under a governor who was a planter. These authorities had advised Washington that southern workers did not need as much relief as northern workers; they were used to wearing less and eating less. The rate of pay had to be fixed so low that it could not tempt the cotton slaves away from the plantations. And now the miners' union contract was about to expire; and it was planned to cut their wages again; but in order to force the miners to take this cut, relief-work pay had also to be reduced. The relief workers were told they would now receive 20 instead of 30 cents an hour. It was the last straw, and they declared a strike.

The strike leader was a miner named Horace Bryan. There was a Government official there appointed to investigate destitution in the State. This man's name was Rev. Claude Williams of the Presbyterian Church.

Bryan one day went to the jail to demand release of a striker who had been illegally arrested. Instead of releasing the striker they locked Bryan up with him.

On the day before Bryan's trial Claude led a great hunger march through the streets of Fort Smith. Whites, Negroes, Mexicans, and Indians marched behind him singing hymns. The people of property in Fort Smith watched the faces of the marchers as they went by singing, and smelled trouble. The faces of the marchers said they were hungry even more plainly than the banners they carried, but the people of property saw only a band of cutthroats menacing law and order. It looked like revolution, and the word tightened the lips and hardened the hearts of all good citizens.

The court was so jammed for the trial of Bryan that the architect of the court house was called in to announce it might collapse if some people did not leave. Nobody left. Nearly all the people in the court were strikers. They sat very quiet and silent. To ease the tension the judge offered some humorous and sarcastic remarks, but nobody laughed. Sweat beaded his flat brow and he looked increasing uneasy. Claude was summoned as a witness, but was put on trial as if he were accused with Bryan.

The judge seemed to feel the atmosphere was not right for passing sentence on Bryan, and the verdict was postponed over the weekend. Bryan was allowed free on bail. After the session Claude applied to the judge for permission to hold a Sunday afternoon service for the strikers there in the court house.

"I know it's an unusual request, Judge," he said, "but it would give these people something to do to prevent violence. It is bitter cold outside and they have nowhere else to go. It would keep the struggle on a high ethical basis."

"You can keep your struggle on a high ethical basis in the ball park," said the judge. "But I'd advise you to leave these men alone."

Claude held his service in the ball park. It was not actually freezing, but the great crowd of strikers who came to worship and hear Claude preach were soon blue with cold, for they were half naked. The sheriff, mayor, and judge came with detectives and policemen and stood on the crowd's edge, snugly overcoated. The strikers, white and black and brown, prayed and sang together. The respectable ministers of Fort Smith had refused to attend the service, but five lowly lay preachers cooperated with Claude.

A Negro preacher led the people in prayer. Claude preached on the text: "Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward." He said that it was the strikers' unshaken solidarity, not the fear of violence, that was giving the respectable citizens of Fort Smith the jitters. After the service he tried to speak to the sheriff and police to make them understand the peaceful intentions of the strikers. They walked away and would not speak to him.

Next afternoon another hunger march was arranged. The strikers planned to meet for prayers in a field on the edge of the city, then march across town. In the morning the mayor sent a message that there must be no march.

There was in effect a declaration of martial law. The strikers sent word back to the mayor: "This is America. We can march. If there is any law against it, it is unconstitutional."

The mayor telephoned that gas bombs would be thrown to disperse any march, and hoses would be turned on the people. Claude replied that they would all be glad to take a bath together. The mayor said: "If this march is attempted, there will be bloodshed. There will be murder."

Then Claude telephoned the police, telling them the route of the march and the number of marchers, and asking for protection. The mayor, he said, had threatened violence, but there would be no violence from the marchers. They intended to shed no blood.

"There isn't going to be any march," the police chief said.

"We're going to attempt it."

"And we'll attempt to break it up."

"That is probably to be expected."

The strikers assembled, and Claude spoke to them from an improvised platform, on which an American flag had been placed.

A poor preacher led the people in prayer. As they stood with bowed heads, a line of police cars drew up. The police chief with some men charged on to the platform, pushing the prayer leader and Claude to the ground, and knocking the flag askew.

"Watch out for that flag!" said Claude.

"To hell with the flag! It's you I want."

Claude urged the strikers: under no circumstances, whatever might be done to them, must they let themselves be provoked. If the hose was turned on them they must walk right through it. They must not carry so much as a pocketknife.

Claude, Bryan, and the others were piled into a police car filled with guns and gas bombs. A policeman was clutching Claude with trembling fist as if he were some dangerous criminal.

At the jail the men who had been arrested for praying on the public street to the God of the poor asked to see the warrants for their arrest. The police officials looked at them as if to warn them this was no time for the funny stuff, and put them into cells.

Claude and Bryan were in a 14-by-10 foot cell with 6 others who introduced themselves as Mike Chibuski, Dennis Rome, Frank and Demas Ray, Jack Brown, and Jimmie Reynolds. The boys were already used to jail routine and passed the time playing poker and talking sex. One of them had syphilis and another had gonorrhea.

In a corner was a nonflushable receptacle, encrusted and undisinfected, for the use of all the guests. Some of the bunks were bare and some had filthy, sour-smelling pads and blankets. Lying about the floor were tin cups and spoons which, Mike Chibuski said, were passed down through the years without cleaning. The floor was dirty and the unventilated cell was full of stifling dust.

Later another guest arrived in the cell and reported what the boys were saying around town: that the vigils would be calling at the jail at 2 in the morning to take Claude and Bryan for a ride into Oklahoma.

It sounded not improbable, but there was nothing they could do about it.

Claude woke in the grey dawning and was surprised to find he was still there. Joyce was allowed to see him during the morning. She told him through the bars that their house had been raided during the night by the police who had warned her of worse to come. The whole city was a piece of tinder, she said, ready to flare up at the drop of a pink hat. People were acting as though possessed by devils.

In the afternoon Bryan was taken to court and sentenced to 6 months and a \$500 fine. Then Claude and the others were called and charged with barratry, and their bail set at \$1,200 each. The judge managed to crack off several good jokes during the brief business.

Bryan was put in another cell, and Claude felt alone and depressed. Joyce had said she would be back before evening and she had not come, and he kept thinking of the way the police had threatened her. His fears for her and the children combined with the uncertainty of his own position, wondering when the vigilantes might come to take him out for a ride, made sleep impossible.

The dawn came grey and cold and he was still there. He had not slept at all and he felt dirty. He needed a shave, and in order to get it he had to let the jail barber use on him the same razor he had been using on the syphilitic. He was allowed to take a bath, without any towel, in a filthy bathroom. He complained of the conditions to the sheriff, but the sheriff looked oddly at him for a minute and said he could not do anything.

The day wore on. His attorney came with Joyce and said that during the night two of the relief workers who were trying to lead the strike had been taken for a ride by masked men, and threatened with lynching.

When he was brought into the courthouse the building was filled with a great crowd of overalled workers with dirty, weary, hungry faces. All the people who had gathered for the hunger march were there, and hundreds more. They covered the courthouse square and steps, filled the lobby and the staircase leading to the courtroom. Against the walls squatted Negroes and Indians, who had been waiting since early morning to see their preacher.

The sight of the great crowd lifted Claude's spirit. The sheriff, whose breath was perfumed with whiskey, went through the press of Negroes and white trash, kicking them aside to make a lane.

The courtroom was packed tight. The flat-headed judge, wearing a red tie, sat back in his chair and dribbled from the corners of his mouth. Forty or fifty vigilantes were packed in on either side of him. The jurymen were hard-bitten types, lean and vindictive looking.

The preacher looked about to see if any of his fellow ministers had come, but he saw only Rabbi Teitelbaum sitting near the front. A quick look of understanding passed between him and the rabbi, who was evidently suffering, aware of his impotence.

The court would not try the group of arrested men together. Claude was taken first. He was public enemy No. 1 in Fort Smith.

A feeling of calm settled upon him and that queer detachable part of himself flew up into the rafters and looked down impersonally on the scene, laughing. The trial was a buffoonery. The workers in the body of the court sat very still. The faces of the jurymen were hard like granite, except when the prosecuting attorney found some especially vile thing to say about Claude, when they nudged one another and grinned knowingly. The judge comfortable on his throne with the vigilantes about him, sneered humorous asides from time to time.

Delighting in his role of defender of the faith against a devil in priest's clothing, the prosecuting attorney dramatized himself with shouts and stamping. There was little chance for Claude to say anything, but when he could, he answered the fantastic questions with dignity and wit.

After 2 or 3 hours of it night had fallen, and there was a recess. One of the vigilantes walked up and down many times shaking his head and staring at Claude, as if to say: "We've got you where we want you now." The workers crowded past him and stood 10 deep at the rail, reaching for the preacher's hand and calling out:

"Hi, Preacher! Good work! Keep it up."

Claude strolled inside the rail, shaking their hands and joking with them. Finally the judge banged his gavel and shouted humorously:

"Reverend Doctor Mister Williams! Will you set down? These people have been mighty good so far and I don't want you stirring them up!"

The court would not allow any relevant evidence at all to be presented. It might as well be gotten over with quickly without bringing others into it.

No defense witnesses were called. The jury found him guilty of barratry in less than 10 minutes. He was sentenced to 90 days and a \$100 fine.

Claude appealed the case and went back to jail with the sheriff. There was nothing to do but wait for his bond to be raised and accepted.

He had kept up his spirit in court, but the jail was beginning to get on his nerves. The dirt and the stink of excrement and the talk of some of his cell mates, degraded by brutish social forces, nauseated him. The thought of his children, who might be without food and certainly were in danger, would not leave him.

During the night a mad boy in the next cell began to do some extraordinary imitations of birds and animals. The prisoners yelled at him to stop, but he persisted, and finally Claude heard the jailers go in and beat him. The mad boy was silent after that, but it was impossible to sleep. The boy's cries rang in his ears.

As he had left the courthouse he had been able to sense the tension in the crowd; he had read the vigilantes' faces and heard them muttering threats, and he knew they were liable to come any time. They might be afraid to lynch him because of the influential friends they knew he had outside the State, and because he was a minister. But if the mob frenzy were great enough, such considerations would not stop them. His life hung perhaps in a scales and it was just a question whether hysteria or caution tipped the balance.

Another dawn, and Claude was still unlynched. He began to think this danger was passing and maybe soon he might be able to have some sleep.

When he had been there 2 weeks and the authorities were still making difficulties about bail, Claude decided to try and call the local ministers' hand. He was a minister officially in good standing, shut up in a cell on a technicality of the law; a mere \$1,200 bond stood in the way of his liberation; yet not one preacher of Christ in Fort Smith had so much as come to the jail. Rabbi Teitelbaum had come, he had heard, to ask whether bail had been arranged. According to Joyce, only one influential man in the rabbi's congregation had been able to save him from violence which the citizens wanted to visit upon him for this action. Teitelbaum, the Jew, was risking much to act like a Christian.

Claude asked his lawyers to call the ministers to the jail to see him. None came save Hefner, who as moderator of the Presbytery could not refuse the plain request. He was embarrassed at the meeting. He had never been inside a jail before and knew nothing of what went on. Claude asked him whether he could not help in the bonding matter without involving himself.

"I don't know," Hefner said. "There are so many angles to it. I cannot sympathize with agitators. I don't see what they hope to accomplish, striking against the Government when they are on charity. It isn't a minister's place to lead strikes and stir up hatred. He must be a friend to all."

"But we were in prayer when they arrested us. It was not we who stirred up trouble."

"Yes—but it's my job to minister to all people. I can't take sides."

"But don't you see that by your very silence you are taking sides? Siding with wealth and property against the multitudes for whom the Nazarene stood?"

Hefner went away.

By the 18th day, with his friends outside still working feverishly to bail him out, the jail was getting Claude seriously down. The noises and smells were like knives cutting deep into his brain, and he could not keep the cell walls from closing in on him to crush him; the sensation was so sharp that he almost cried out.

A drunk had been brought in that evening and, to add to the din, he was yelling a mad song. The jailer went to a woman's cell, and everyone listened to the sound of the rubber hose on her body until her shrieks died away.

It was the last night of Claude's postgraduate course in the pain of the despised and rejected. They took the woman out on a stretcher in the morning, still unconscious. Soon afterward Claude's bail was paid and Joyce took him home.

Legends about the Red preacher spread fast. A Paris friend of Claude's came into Fort Smith some days later. He went to see the judge who had finally allowed the bond, and asked where Claude was.

"He's gone," the judge said. "We think he ought to be in hell, but we can't do a thing to him. He's got friends all over the world. I've a stack of telegrams that high on my desk from his friends all trying to meddle in Fort Smith affairs."

* * * * *

Mr. JOHNSON. That is an article about Claude Williams whom I knew when I was a member of the Communist Party, as a Communist.

Mr. CLARDY. That is the Reverend Claude Williams?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; that is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. As long as we are on this subject, can you give us a bit of information from your own personal knowledge about Rev. Claude C. Williams?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. Rev. Claude C. Williams was a member of the Communist Party during the period that I was a member. He organized what was known as the People's Institute of Applied Religion, an organization that was set up for the purpose of using the Scriptures as a means of inciting social rebellion; that is, the culling from the Scriptures of certain passages which could be interpreted to justify rebellion against the social system.

He did that in a very devilish way in the sense that he tried to show that the Blessed Savior was a carpenter and a worker, and he rebelled against the conditions during His day, and that they should follow in His footsteps and rebel against social conditions in our day.

In other words, he used the story of our Blessed Savior as a means to promote atheistic communism and revolution in the South and throughout the country.

Mr. CLARDY. I have noticed that that same technique is being employed or has been employed by a number of others who have had their works brought together by a gentleman I shall leave unnamed at this juncture in the hearing.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is quite correct.

I have here a copy of the Daily Worker, Friday, July 10, 1953, in which there is one of the most sacrilegious cartoons of our Blessed Savior I have ever seen, and this is the type of cartoon that Claude Williams used to use to illustrate his lectures.

Mr. CLARDY. It seems incredible that that would be printed as recently as 4 days ago, this present time.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is in connection with the admission that many ministers have joined with them in the defense of Communists and the signing of petitions and sponsoring front organizations that were set up by the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. Am I not correct in saying that this is a copy of the cartoon that appeared in the first or early issue of the Protestant Digest or in connection with advertising that magazine?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not recall.

Mr. CLARDY. The reason I ask is that the language beneath the picture—the picture may not be identical, but the language beneath it has a vague resemblance in my mind to something I have read about the things the Protestant used in advertising itself in some fashion or another in the early days, portraying Christ in the manner that you have indicated.

Daily Worker, New York, Friday, July 10, 1953

Page 5

REWARD

FOR INFORMATION LEADING TO THE APPREHENSION OF —

**JESUS CHRIST**

**WANTED - FOR SEDITION, CRIMINAL ANARCHY-
VAGRANCY, AND CONSPIRING TO OVERTHROW THE
ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENT**

**DRESSES POORLY. SAID TO BE A CARPENTER BY TRADE, ILL-
NOURISHED, HAS VISIONARY IDEAS, ASSOCIATES WITH COMMON
WORKING PEOPLE THE UNEMPLOYED AND BUMS. ALIEN —
BELEIVED TO BE A JEW ALIAS: 'PRINCE OF PEACE, SON OF
MAN'-'LIGHT OF THE WORLD' &c &c PROFESSIONAL AGITATOR
RED BEARD, MARKS ON HANDS AND FEET THE RESULT OF
INJURIES INFLICTED BY AN ANGRY MOB LED BY RESPECTABLE
CITIZENS AND LEGAL AUTHORITIES.**

for Young

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. Well, they do that in their articles. They use religion as a cover for the promotion of antireligious and materialistic communism.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think even more interesting, Mr. Chairman, is the editorial, Freedom of Religion, on page 5 of the Daily Worker of Friday, July 10, 1953, just a few days ago, right next to the cartoon, which argues in favor of freedom of religion. This is indeed an odd argument coming from the mouth of the Daily Worker and from the mouth of the Communist leaders of America. The article states that—

It will be a bad day for America and for America's children and their children's children if the McCarthyite attack on the churches and the freedom of religious conscience is permitted to proceed. Fortunately, there is every indication that the ministers will fight back.

As a matter of fact, I think the record should show what an incredible thing it is that this type of statement comes in an editorial from the Daily Worker, which has done everything possible to destroy religion throughout the world; when the Daily Worker is in support of something, methinks we should question it.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, of course, there is no doubt about the fact that one of the principal aims of the Communist Party is to destroy the church and all faith in God and in religion as such, but I am appalled to think that a newspaper of any kind would perpetrate such sacrilege as this cartoon. It is just beyond belief. I do not know how they can think or hope to convert people to their thinking when they have such things as this. I note, however, that this committee gets honorable mention, as usual.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to introduce this editorial and the cartoon as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 35, and I now offer it into evidence, Mr. Chairman, at this time.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The editorial, Freedom of Religion, and accompanying cartoon on p. 5 of the Daily Worker, Friday, July 10, 1953, were received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 35.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 35

(Daily Worker, July 10, 1953, p. 5)

FREEDOM OF RELIGION

A Famous Cartoon of that great American artist, Art Young, portrayed a poster offering a "Reward—for information leading to the apprehension of JESUS CHRIST . . . Wanted—for Sedition . . . Conspiring to Overthrow the Established Government . . . Dresses poorly . . . has visionary ideas, associates with common working people, the unemployed and bums . . ." (See cartoon in adjoining column.)

What brought this cartoon to our mind is the new McCarthyite drive against the integrity and independence of the church, and specifically against a number (the estimate is 7,000) of Protestant ministers, by the House Un-American Committee.

Rep. Donald L. Jackson announced Wednesday that every preacher "identified as a Communist" by one of the miserable stoolpigeons parading before his infamous group will be "called to testify."

To what depths has our nation descended if this threat can be carried out!

What a field day for reaction, for fascism, when every minister is persecuted who in response to his own conscience spoke out for the ethical principles of Christianity as he saw them. Here will come the minister who denounced universal military training, he who called for brotherhood of Negro and white, he who spoke for peace and ending war in Korea, for peaceful coexistence between

the Soviet Union and our own country. Here in the white-hot glare of the klieg lights, in the witness chair, will sit the preacher who urged as a Christian gesture clemency for the Rosenbergs, or amnesty for the Communist leaders.

Here indeed will come the ministers—and to their everlasting credit, their number is legion—who in fact did nothing more than reject McCarthyism as inconsistent with American traditions. For what they were asserting was the self-evident fact that between Christianity and fascism there can be no common ground.

And it is this undeniable principle which has enraged Joe McCarthy and his renegade aid, J. B. Matthews; which has angered Velde and the un-Americans, just as 20 years ago it maddened Adolph Hitler and resulted in his repressions against the church.

The principle of a free conscience, of the right to worship—or not worship—as one sees fit, is sacred and immemorial. It is not only inscribed in our Bill of Rights, but is graven in the hearts of the American people.

It will be a bad day for America and for America's children, and their children's children, if the McCarthyite attack on the churches and the freedom of religious conscience is permitted to proceed. Fortunately, there is every indication that the ministers will fight back. It is to be hoped that their congregations will give them the fullest support.

Even more important, we hope that labor and the trade-union movement, recognizing the freedom of religion as basic to all that is truly democratic, will come forward and with its united strength strike down this newest threat to a hallowed American institution.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask, what is the Reverend Claude Williams doing now? What is his official position, if any?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am not familiar with his present activities.

Mr. KUNZIG. You spoke a minute ago of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, as headed by the Reverend Claude Williams, who was also former head of Commonwealth College in Mena, Ark. Did you know or have any contact at any time with one of the sponsors of the People's Institute of Applied Religion by the name of Max Yergan?

Mr. JOHNSON. I did. During the time that I was a member of the Communist Party. Max Yergan was a member of the Communist Party during the period of my membership.

We used to hold Communist Party fraction meetings in the headquarters of the Committee on African Affairs on 40th Street in the city of New York. These were fraction meetings of the top fraction of the Communist Party operating inside of the American Negro Labor Congress.

I also have here the names of the officers, State directors, and sponsors of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, and I should like to present them at this time to the committee.

Mr. CLARDY. Not as a list of Communists, but as a list of the officials and sponsors of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, with the understanding that those that have been definitely identified by the witness are the only ones of which we can speak as to their Communist connections.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct, sir.

I am looking at this list at the present time, and I have marked it "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 36," and with your permission, sir, I should like to offer this into evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 36 for the purpose only of putting in the record the names of the officers, State directors, and sponsors of the Peoples Institute of Applied Religion.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The document referred to was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 36.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 36

APR 10 1942

"PREPARE YE THE WAY OF THE PEOPLE; CAST UP, CAST UP THE HIGHWAY;
GATHER OUT THE STONES; LIFT UP A STANDARD FOR THE PEOPLE." ISAIAH 40:3

PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF APPLIED RELIGION

313 SOUTHEAST FIRST STREET • EVANSVILLE • INDIANA



— CLAUDE C. WILLIAMS
DIRECTOR
— WINIFRED L. CHAPPELL
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE
— EDNA JOYCE KING
OFFICE SECRETARY

April 9, 1942

Mr. Max Bedacht
International Workers Order
80 Fifth Ave, New York

Dear Mr. Bedacht-

As you suggest, I am putting into writing my request for a contribution from the International Workers Order, toward the \$300 that the forthcoming "institute" of the People's Institute of Applied Religion will cost.

I enclose a program (which you saw in another form) and with it a little WID'S WID of our discussion leaders at this institute.

I enclose also a general communication from Claude Williams, Director of the People's Institute; and a letter from one of our rural preachers illustrating how the program gets into action among the people toward the ends that we so earnestly seek.

The Dixie Demagogues use the Bible among the religiously-conditioned folk of the " Bible Belt" toward unsocial ends.

The People's Institute is using the Bible-- legitimately-- to lead the people toward Democracy.

You will see by the letterhead that most, though not all, of our sponsors are church leaders. It is the firm conviction of Claude Williams that the church people, since the Christian Church has been the chief sinner in promoting anti-Semitism, should bear the responsibility of supporting financially our work which is directed against anti-Semitism and racism.

But as a member of the IWO and one who knows its broad social interest, I am taking the liberty of appealing to you for help.

I can think of no more useful place to invest a little money than in this institute from which-- as from each of our former ones-- will go men who will use their Bibles toward meeting the bread-and-meat problem of the people; and toward leading them in the effort for national unity against Hitler and Hitlerism, abroad and here.

Sincerely,

Winifred L. Chappell
Winifred L. Chappell
136 E 17, New York, N.Y.
Gr5-9851.

SPONSORS

JAMES LUTHER ADAMS
ELIABOR C. ANDERSON
FRANK C. BANCROFT
CARL E. BEEBE
WALTER S. BISHMAN
L. M. BISHMAN
HENRIETTA BUCHHEIT
RICHARD COMFORT
H. S. A. LAWRENCE
WALCOLM C. COBB
JAMES DOBROWSKI
JOSEPH P. FLETCHER
WESLEY H. C. HAHN
ELIZABETH HEARING
JOHN PAUL JONES
S. RICHARD LUCH
JOHN HOWARD LATHROP
H. O. W. L. T. Y
BENJAMIN L. LITTLE
CHARLES LIGHTBODY
DONALD LOTHROP
JOHN A. MCCALLUM
C. F. M. L. L. L. L.
PAUL G. MACY
HAROLD P. MARLEY
STANLEY MATTHEWS
FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
H. L. H. H. H. H. H.
JACK A. MICHAEL, JR.
CLYDE S. MILLER
JOSEPH S. MOORE
L. I. S. T. O. N. F. O. P. E.
B. W. H. E. I. L. F. O. R. E. A. T.
BETHA C. REYNOLDS
WESLEY B. SNOW
WILLIAM S. SPORFORD
WILLIAM WALLACE SULLIVAN
ALVA W. TAYLOR
JOHN H. THOMPSON
CHANNING M. TORIAS
WILLARD E. UPHAUS
GREGORY VLASTOS
HAROLD F. WARD
LYNDA WARD
CHARLES C. WEBER
OWEN H. WHITFIELD
SIDNEY S. WILLIAMS
CHARLES C. WILSON
MAX YESSMAN

FIELD LEADERS

A. L. CAMPBELL
ROBERT D. HUMPHREY
S. A. M. S.
DONALD L. WEST
S. O. A. J. A.
LAWRENCE LAY
O. F. L. A. N. O. W. A.
WILLIAM L. BLACKSTONE
GABRIEL C. WILLIAMS
M. S. S. A. M. S.
WILLIAM DEBERY
HARVEY ROBERT
T. R. A. M. S. S. E. R.
LEONARD M. SIEB
C. L. O. L. L. A. D. O.

Mr. CLARDY. I think it has value in demonstrating that these movements have drawn into them some good people along with those that we know to be Communists.

Mr. KUNZIG. You will note the name of Dr. Harry Ward is on there.

Mr. CLARDY. Who has been identified as a Communist.

Mr. KUNZIG. There are the names of Jack McMichael, who has been identified as a Communist; Winifred Chappell, and others.

Mr. CLARDY. Also Max Yergan.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like to mention in this connection that the People's Institute of Applied Religion was one of the most important Communist-front operations operating in the South, because in order to get around the difficulties that stood in the way of a Communist organization of a rebellion in the South, they used religion as a cloak to reach the masses of the South who lived by the Book and believed in the Book, taking as they did scriptures from the Bible and twisting them around in order to incite social rebellion in the South.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this, is Rev. Claude Williams a Negro or white?

Mr. JOHNSON. White.

Mr. DOYLE. About what proportion of this list of persons that Mr. Kunzig identifies here as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 36, are Negro or white?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not know.

Mr. DOYLE. The reason I ask that is because you specified they were working in the South.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; they were working in the South, using the religion to stir up—

Mr. DOYLE. I know you stated that, but I am interested to know, because they were working in the South, what their policy was to using Negroes or whites.

Mr. JOHNSON. Both Negroes, whites, Mexicans, all nationalities in the South.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the status of this People's Institute of Applied Religion now? Is it still in existence, and active? If not, when did it stop?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not know exactly when or if the institute was discontinued. I do know that during the period of my membership in the party—

Mr. DOYLE. Have they been active since you stopped being active?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am not in a position to state.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you know of it being active after you stopped being active in the Communist Party? That is a plain question. Do you know of any incident where it functioned after you stopped being active in the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am not aware of any of its activities after my leaving the party. I am only testifying in connection—

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know of any activity after you left the Communist Party of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, or has it been dead several years? That is what I am asking, as far as you know.

Mr. JOHNSON. Just a moment. I might have something on that.

Mr. DOYLE. I think it is important, Mr. Chairman, that we have the status of this.

Mr. CLARDY. Yes; if the witness knows. Of course, he has indicated that his knowledge ended as of the time he ceased being a member, but if he does have something, I would like to have it in the record.

Mr. DOYLE. I just kind of assumed that the witness' interest in Communist activities has continued, or he would not be here today.

Mr. KUNZIG. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, rather than your going through that voluminous file at the moment, let us move on to something else and come back to that later.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, before we leave this point I note that the name Harry Ward has appeared in so many of these various organizations and groups. It seems as if there is almost an interlacing tieup of one to the other, not in any one particular religious sect or denomination, but through various sects and denominations. Have you any comment to make on this situation?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I have.

Dr. Harry F. Ward, for many years, has been the chief architect for Communist infiltration and subversion in the religious field.

Mr. CLARDY. That, you think, explains why we find his name turning up in practically all of the Communist-front or Communist organizations.

Mr. JOHNSON. Absolutely correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, when we were discussing the magazine Protestant Digest, later called the Protestant, you testified that it generally followed the Communist line throughout the years. How, do you know, were they tipped off with regard to this Communist line? How would they know what to write about?

I ask this question because I know just this morning, to bring the matter down to date, that the Daily Worker finally commented on the fall from grace of Beria. It took them 3 or 4 days to find out what the line was, and until they found out, they did not dare print anything, so where did the magazine such as the Protestant Digest get their line?

Mr. JOHNSON. The line comes down from Moscow to the Politburo of the National Committee of the Communist Party and from the Politburo of the National Committee of the Communist Party it goes down to the Communist Party fraction in the many front organizations of the solar system of organizations of the Communist Party and the Communist fraction inside of each of these organizations carries out the line. That is how the line comes down from Moscow to the lowest organization of the Communist Party.

A clear indication and example of how the Communist Party policy in the religious field is handed down and reflected in the Protestant Digest and in all of the other activities of the Communist Party in the religious field may be clearly illustrated in an article by Raymond Guyot, who was a leader of the Young Communist International and a member of the Communist International, writing in the Young Communist Review in September 1939, on the subject, I quote: "The Communist Discusses Christianity."

This is the most revealing article on how to exploit Christianity, brotherhood, the peace sentiments, etc., among religious people to

convince them of the need of accepting the policy of the program of the world Communist movement.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you care to have that marked as an exhibit?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I have it marked as "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 37," and I should like now to offer it into evidence.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(Article, A Communist Discusses Christianity, from the Young Communist Review, September 1939, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson exhibit No. 37.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 37

(Young Communist Review, September 1938, pp. 8-10)

A COMMUNIST DISCUSSES CHRISTIANITY

THE ADDRESS TO THE COMMISSION ON RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL BASES OF PEACE
AT THE SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

(By Raymond Guyot)

I am very glad to find here a number of prominent members of Christian organizations who took part in the Third Commission at Geneva. The Third Commission is called Commission C here, but its work is the same.

Terrible evils—above all, war—are threatening and already ravaging mankind. In face of these, Young Communists throughout the world have shown a spirit of understanding which has won praise. Neither denying nor underestimating that which may or does divide us, we have nevertheless placed in the foreground that which may unite us, and through this we have made it possible to carry on joint activity to save mankind from the shame of retrogression and destruction.

The experience of 2 years has been conclusive. Life has given an affirmative answer to the statement that "it is impossible to reduce these positions to a common ideology. But that does not prevent youth of all opinions from collaborating for the defense of peace." (Report of Geneva Congress—IIIrd Commission, p. 186.)

The religious world, and, I may add, the leaders of the Church in ever-growing numbers, are henceforth convinced of the sincerity of the Communists when they offer their cooperation in face of the common danger.

Thus our sincerity, our loyalty, our efforts to reach an understanding authorize us to put a question in our turn, a question that might be formulated in this way: "Does not the refusal to take the hand stretched out by the Communists mean in reality acquiescence in the triumph of violence and war in the world?"

I felt (sic) sure that the doubts and confusion are going to disappear once and for all, and that cooperation is going to make still more decisive progress. And the reply that we shall give to the issues raised at this Congress will depend a great deal on this point of view. I would like now to make my modest contribution to this noble cause.

We think that the highest good, demanding the ultimate loyalty of all human beings, consists in the happiness of mankind. The Communists affirm that the happiness of mankind is identified with the collective building of a peaceful life which will allow the free and far-reaching development of the individual personality. Such a life is possible only in a society where there is no exploitation of man by man. For the Communists, the happiness of mankind is a *conquest*, demanding sacrifices that mankind is forced to make in a war of conquest. Our heroism is of a very different nature from the so-called heroism of the warmakers.

Man's happiness and the means of attaining it have been the goal to which all that is best and most progressive in mankind has aspired.

In our day, too, progressive individuals and groups are striving after the happiness of mankind and, under one form or another, identifying this ideal with the highest good. *This should be considered as a very important position shared by Communists and by other progressive forces in the world today.*

The aggressions unleashed by those who may be called the instigators of war constitutes the gravest attack upon the welfare of mankind, not only as regards its immediate results, but also as regards its future.

The World War of 1914-18 did not contribute anything to the happiness of mankind. On the contrary, it destroyed 10 million human lives, ravaged whole countries and swallowed up immense riches.

With regard to the question of patriotism, we should draw a distinction: there is a so-called patriotism, one of the (sic) ideological forms of fascism, which preaches war in order to bring other countries under its yoke. We call this "false patriotism"—chauvinism. In reality, there is only one patriotism which is true and healthy and which, established on the rights of nations to independence, will tolerate no attack on the independence of its people. Chauvinism turns its back on the happiness of mankind. For chauvinism there is no highest good "common to all human beings." The chauvinism of our day places in opposition to the moral principle of human happiness certain subhuman principles: brute force as "the absolute good," and racial theory as "the only truth."

In the name of these principles chauvinism "which has now found a crude form in fascism" is trying to create a war psychology among the younger generation whom it influences by "educating it" to scorn all that is not "my race" and "my war strength."

The healthy sentiment of patriotism "which has nothing in common with chauvinism" may—under certain circumstances—condition the action of nations and individuals. Has a country threatened by or subjected to aggression the right to mobilize the resistance of the people on the basis of patriotic feeling? Clearly it has the right. And in using this right it is not betraying its loyalty to the highest good, but on the contrary affirming this loyalty. In defending their national independence, the Ethiopians, the Spanish and the Chinese, filled with love of their country, are working for the happiness of mankind. Indeed, in these cases the happiness of mankind is threatened with annihilation for the Ethiopians, the Spanish and the Chinese—that is to say, for a considerable part of mankind. While those who are seeking to annihilate it are those very persons who believe that force in its most brutish form and pride of race in its most repulsive aspect, constitute the highest good.

In summary:

(a) A highest good—the happiness of mankind—unites all progressive forces, whatever their religion.

(b) Chauvinism cannot govern the action of individuals without destroying loyalty to the highest good, which consists in the happiness of mankind.

(c) The healthy sentiment of patriotism, when a nation defends itself from aggression, is in accord with loyalty to the highest good.

Solidarity, devotion to the common welfare of humanity, is interpreted by us as the old rule of human solidarity—all for one and one for all.

The youth cannot remain indifferent to the fact that in consequence of the war policy of Germany, Italy and Japan, hundreds and thousands of people are shedding their blood in Spain and China, and among them large numbers of young men and women. Youth must know for whose benefit the war is being waged. Is this war being waged for the benefit of progress and culture, in the name of the emancipation of the human personality, in the name of a new life of happiness for all human society?

No, this war is being waged in the name of an imperialist policy. War is taking place because Fascist Germany, Italy, and Japan are seeking to conquer new colonies and to enslave more free nations. The Catholic youth will realize that this is true when considering the occupation of Austria, to which fascism has brought nothing but servitude and oppression. They will realize it in considering the words of the Fascist leaders themselves.

What have the wars in Spain, Abyssinia, and China brought? *The wars have brought death to peoples and the massacre of defenseless women and children.*

This war has brought outrage to the human personality.

War destroys culture and all the progressive achievements of mankind.

In spurning all notions of freedom of thought and faith, of the sacred traditions of mankind, the Fascist aggressors are destroying everything that human culture and progress have built up. They do not even hesitate to make use of churches for their ends.

The war carried on by the Fascist aggressors brings extermination of the highest good, of the free personality.

The peoples of Spain and China are fighting not only for their independence but for world peace, and the need for the international solidarity of all peace-loving humanity becomes daily more evident.

The principle of solidarity must therefore be applied in the interests of peace and justice.

Solidarity cannot be abstract. It must be concretized in action. Today the active solidarity of peace-loving youth towards the victims of the war must have two aims:

(1) Bring pressure to bear on the governments in order to bring to an end the injustice which deprives Republican Spain (victim of the Italo-German oppression) of the possibility of procuring means for her defense.

(2) Humanitarian aid for the victims whose lot has aroused the deepest emotion throughout the civilized world: the women and children. (Sending of milk, medical supplies, warm clothing, shoes, etc.)

What we Communists call solidarity corresponds more or less with what Christianity calls charity. We do not wish to enter upon a critical discussion with the Christians on the different content of the two principles, but on the contrary to find out the basis common to both. Christian charity, for instance, goes out to the weak, to the victims of injustice, to the persecuted. This is sufficient to draw Christian charity towards the Spanish people, the people of China and Abyssinia.

THE BASIS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The report of the IIIrd Commission of the Geneva Congress affirmed that "moral standards must regulate the relations between nations" (Report of the Congress, p. 187).

We agree with the Christian youth that moral standards must regulate the relations between individuals and between peoples. In the moral doctrine of Christianity we find a whole number of principles that we Communists not only accept but are constantly endeavoring to carry out. The heroes of our movement who are making enormous sacrifices for their opinions, who are stoically supporting the most terrible persecutions and defending in face of the ferocious tribunals of fascism, in face of torture and death, their convictions, are the living symbol of communism. Since the persecutions of the Christians of old, no movement has suffered such terrible persecution nor borne them with such stoicism as the revolutionary working-class movement. Everyone must acknowledge this moral firmness and endurance, this absolute self-abnegation, this moral greatness in the martyrs of our movement.

Christianity preaches the freedom and dignity of the human personality.

We Communists unreservedly accept this principle and consider as one of our highest tasks to defend the liberty and dignity of the human personality against all oppression, servitude, or outrage.

Christianity preaches equality of all men in God's sight.

We Communists are fighting for the equal rights of all men and all peoples, for their right to freedom of thought and faith, for a social regime which will guarantee equal possibilities of development for everyone, regardless of their origin, sex, or nationality.

Christianity preaches [sic] love of one's neighbor.

We Communists believe in love of our fellowmen and are fighting for it, for such a love tends to ensure the maximum happiness for the maximum number of persons. We mean by the term happiness not only material welfare but also the joy of labor, a far-reaching education, the development of every capacity, cultivation of the arts and sciences, the pursuit of noble human aims, the sentiment of collectivity, and the knowledge of filling the right post and of contributing to the common good. We Communists encourage that solidarity which lifts man out of his own "self" and binds him to give effective help to his brothers in distress.

Christianity demands that all should aspire to moral perfection.

We Communists are fighting for the perfection of the human race, against the oppression and humiliation of the human personality under capitalism, against the stupefying, degenerating effects of poverty and servitude, of race hatred and persecution between peoples, of the deep-rooted immorality of ruling society. We strive to lay the foundations of a harmonious and far-reaching development of the human race, of a world in which man's social qualities will vanquish his brutish instincts.

And so we reply affirmatively to the question: "Is it possible to establish a common moral basis which will offer a solid foundation for international law?" We find that the moral principles of our movement and the numerous moral demands of Christianity have something in common which can offer a solid foundation of international law. In face of fascist barbarism and the imminent danger of war it is necessary, in our opinion, to develop everything that is common to us and to put aside all that divides us.

Mr. JOHNSON. It is interesting to note that the Protestant was published 60 days after that line was handed down.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean that in this article in exhibit 37 we have a prescription for the magazine, the Protestant Digest?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct, that is what I mean.

Mr. CLARDY. And would you say further that when the Protestant Digest commenced publication that it thereafter adhered to the general lines outlined in this article?

Mr. JOHNSON. It did. It reflected the line of that article in all of the subsequent—in its first and all of the subsequent editions.

Mr. CLARDY. Then would you say that the institution of publication of the magazine Protestant Digest was a concrete example of the way in which the party line is handed down from Moscow and finally put into execution down in the lower ranks?

Mr. JOHNSON. Of course, Mr. Chairman, it is to be understood that there were deviations from this policy, but these were only incidental. They did not in the least destroy the most important aspects of the line which the party wanted to carry out in the religious field.

Mr. CLARDY. What you are saying, as I understand it, is that from time to time they may have some little variation, some little contradiction for the purpose of lulling suspicions to sleep, but generally they followed the party line as handed down from above.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Now, I would like to show you the Daily Worker of January 15, 1953, in which there is an article, the subject matter of which is, "161 Protestant Church Leaders Ask Truman To Grant Amnesty to the Communist Eleven."

Mind you, these were the 11 Communists that were convicted for violation of the Smith Act, and they submitted the names of 161 Protestant Church leaders to President Truman with the statement that if President Truman did not grant them amnesty, that they would go to President Eisenhower and demand of him amnesty for the 11 Communists.

Mr. CLARDY. I think that should be marked, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 38," and I offer it into evidence at this time.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The article from the Daily Worker, January 15, 1953, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 38.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 38

(Daily Worker, January 15, 1953, p. 8)

161 PROTESTANT CHURCH LEADERS ASK TRUMAN TO AMNESTY COMMUNIST "11"

One hundred and sixty-one church leaders representing 15 major Protestant denominations laid before President Truman at Christmas time their appeal for amnesty for 11 leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act, it was made known this week.

Release of the letter to Truman with its signers was made by the Rev. Edward D. McGowan, minister of Epworth Methodist Church, Bronx, N. Y., one of the 10 clergymen who initiated the appeal. Rev. McGowan stated that, if affirmation action is not taken by President Truman, a similar appeal will be presented to Gen. Eisenhower when he becomes President.

Seven Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church are in the list of signers, including one of the letter's initiators, the Right Rev. Normand B. Nash of

Massachusetts, as well as Bishop Arthur W. Womack of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and Bishop G. W. Taylor of the Reformed Zion Union Apostolic Church.

Among the signers are 12 clerics who are professors in theological schools or universities, and an equal number of national officers, state and district superintendents in several denominations together with the executives of local church federations. The majority on the list are parish ministers of 15 denominations in 33 states.

A BASIC RIGHT

The church leaders declared in their appeal that conscientious advocacy is a basic democratic right and the glory of a free society. The letter contends:

"Many Americans feel that imprisonment for conscientious advocacy is not only incompatible with our whole philosophy of government but is an indication to countless observers abroad of lack of confidence in our American institutions."

Citing a long tradition of Presidential amnesty for political prisoners, the church leaders appealed to the President "in the spirit of Christmas and in harmony with justice" to exercise his executive power in granting amnesty to the Communist Party leaders in jail, that they may return to their wives and children. By the exercise of amnesty "we shall be stronger in the eyes of the world," the appeal concluded.

SIGNERS

Among the prominent signers are:

The Right Rev. Reginald Mallett, Bishop of Northern Indiana (Protestant Episcopal); the Rev. Albert W. Palmer, former Moderator of the Congregational Christian Churches; Dr. Wilbur E. Saunders, president of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School; the Rev. Forrest C. Weir, executive director of the Church Federation of Los Angeles; the Rev. Abbott Book, executive director of the Northern California-Nevada Council of Churches; the Rev. C. C. Adams, secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention, Inc.

Also: The Rev. Albert Buckner Coe, Superintendent of Massachusetts Conference of Congregational-Christian Churches; the Rev. Lewis H. Davis, district superintendent of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Church; the Rev. Prof. Nels F. S. Ferre of Vanderbilt University, Nashville; the Rev. Prof. Rolland E. Wolfe of Western Reserve University, Cleveland; Dean J. H. Satterwhite of Hood Theological Seminary (African Methodist Episcopal Zion), Salisbury, N. C.; the Rev. Prof. John Oliver Nelson of Yale University Divinity School.

Also: The Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Minister-emeritus, the Community Church of New York; the Rev. Guy Emery Shieler, Editor of The Churchman, and the Rev. William B. Spofford, Editor of The Witness; the Rev. Harold A. Bosley, First Methodist Church, Evanston, Ill.; the Rev. J. Raymond Cope, First Unitarian Church, Berkeley, Calif.; the Rev. John Howard Melish, Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn; Dr. Henry Neumann, Ethical Culture Society, Brooklyn.

Also: The Rev. Calvin C. Ellis, Louisville, and the Rev. James A. Jones, Durham, N. C., both ministers of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; the Rev. William B. Clemmer, Board of Publications, Disciples of Christ, St. Louis; the Very Rev. Paul Roberts, Dean of St. John's Cathedral (Protestant Episcopal), Denver; the Very Rev. Louis M. Hirshon, Dean of Christ Church Cathedral (Protestant Episcopal), Hartford, Conn.

INITIATORS

In addition to Rev. McGowan and Bishop Nash, the initiators were:

The Rev. Raymond Calkins, nationally prominent Congregational minister; the Rev. Prof. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, the Rev. John Paul Jones of the Union Church of Bay Ridge (Presbyterian), Brooklyn; the Rev. Dana McLean Greeley, Arlington St. Unitarian Church, Boston; the Rev. Charles A. Hill, Hartford Ave. Baptist Church, Detroit.

Also: The Rev. Kenneth de P. Hughes and the Rev. George L. Paine, Protestant Episcopal ministers of Cambridge and Boston and the Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop of St. Philip's Church, New York.

Mr. CLARDY. I note in passing, Witness, that this documents what it says by actually listing the names of the 161. My query is this: Do you recognize among those who have signed members of your race as well as my own?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. I have a further question. Since the publication of that article in January of this year have you anywhere run across any statements made by any of these gentlemen disavowing the facts as published in the Worker?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; I have not. I have heard of them attacking everyone else, but I have never heard them attack the Daily Worker or the Communist Party about putting their names in its gutter sheet.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, you do not mean you have heard about all of them doing that. You have heard of some of them.

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I mean I have heard some of them make statements, some clergymen make statements against the committees that are investigating communism and so forth and so on, but I never have heard any of them come out and speak in favor of this investigation or to speak against the Communist gutter sheet for publishing their names.

Mr. CLARDY. I have looked it over, Witness, and I recognize a number of names of persons who certainly fall in the category you are talking about, because, having made some independent investigation myself—for example, I see the name here of Rev. Guy Emery Shipler as an outstanding example of what I mean.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like to call your attention to an article in the Daily Worker, Tuesday, May 12, 1953; the subject of the article or the news item being, "Urges Churches Help Defend Negro Leaders."

Now, this article deals with an organization that the Communist Party has set up to defend Negro Communist leaders. Now, the chairman of that committee is Reverend McGowan. He has called upon the national Fraternal Council of Churches to help in this fight. This committee concerns itself with defense of persons like Henry Winston, Ben Davis, Paul Robeson, and all other Communist Party leaders and Communist Party fellow travelers who find themselves in difficulty as a result of their work against our Government in the interest of an alien power, namely, Russia.

Mr. DOYLE. How do they raise their money to finance that work?

Mr. JOHNSON. They raise their money through contributions, collections, and, of course, other sources.

Mr. DOYLE. Do they have a staff of lawyers under retainer, do you know?

Mr. JOHNSON. The party has always had staff lawyers who have been available for years. A number of them have been members of the Communist Party, fellow travelers, or under Communist Party discipline. These lawyers the party has always been able to draw on to give the legal representation necessary for all of these fronts.

Mr. DOYLE. Are they paid, do you think, generally?

Mr. JOHNSON. They are paid by the front organizations that they serve.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, you mentioned yesterday that 2,300 clergymen had signed a petition, at least as so listed in the Daily Worker, to save the Rosenbergs, and that this petition was presented

to President Eisenhower. Does it lie within your knowledge whether any such protest was made at an earlier period of time to Mr. Truman when he was President of the United States?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. According to the January 14, 1953, edition of the Daily Worker, there is a feature story declaring, and I quote, "1,500 Protestant pastors ask Truman to save Rosenbergs."

Mr. CLARDY. The article names some of them, does it not?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; it does. It gives a list of the ministers who signed the petition.

Mr. CLARDY. If the Daily Worker is to be believed at all then, they put in more than half as many on the petition they presented to President Eisenhower.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have this copy of the Daily Worker, Mr. Chairman, of January 14, 1953, just a few days before Mr. Truman left the White House. It is marked "Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 39," and I offer it into evidence.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(The copy of the Daily Worker, January 14, 1953, was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 39.)

MANNING JOHNSON EXHIBIT No. 39

(Daily Worker, New York, Jan. 14, 1953, pp. 1 and 6)

1,500 PROTESTANT PASTORS ASK TRUMAN TO SAVE ROSENBERGS

Fifteen hundred of America's leading Protestant clergymen yesterday asked President Truman to save the lives of the Rosenbergs, Ethel and Julius. Their plea came soon after Dr. Albert Einstein, one of the world's leading atomic scientists who played a leading part in creating the A-bomb, joined Dr. Harold E. Urey, atomic Nobel Prize winner, in urging clemency. The date for execution of the two East Side, New York, parents had been set for Jan. 14. A plea to the President is now in the hands of the Department of Justice. Truman may act at any moment if he desires, up to Jan. 20. If he denies the clemency plea, the execution will take place five days later, or may be delayed possibly pending a final plea to the Supreme Court for a stay.

The letter of the 1,500 clergymen added their names to hundreds of others, including Rabbis and priests, who have similarly asked clemency. The latest plea was released by Dr. Jesse W. Stitt, pastor of the Village Presbyterian Church on W. 13th Street, New York City.

The letter, Dr. Stitt declared, urges President Truman, "in the spirit of love which casts out fear," to mitigate a punishment of "such terrible finality." He added that the group is not "partisan."

"Our plea," the letter says, "does not hang on the decision of the Rosenbergs' guilt or innocence or the degree of their wrongdoing."

Cosponsors of the letter, with Dr. Stitt, are the Rev. Dr. James Luther Adams, Meadville Theological Seminary; Roland H. Bainton of Yale Divinity School; the Rt. Rev. Charles K. Gilbert, retired Protestant Episcopal bishop of New York; Rev. Dr. Robert M. Hopkins, Golden Rule Foundation; Bernard Loomer, dean of Chicago University Divinity School; Rev. Dr. O. Clay Maxwell, Mount Olivet Baptist Church, New York.

Others are Robert H. Nichols, professor emeritus of Union Theological Seminary; Prof. Paul Scherer; Rev. Dr. Albert J. Penner, Broadway Tabernacle, New York; Rev. James H. Robinson, Church of the Master, New York, and the Rev. Dr. T. K. Thompson, National Council of Churches.

In his letter, Dr. Einstein associated himself with another leading nuclear scientist, Dr. Harold C. Urey, who had asked clemency after flatly stating that the testimony of the Rosenbergs was "more believable" than that of the one government witness against them, David Greenglass. The world-famous atomic scientist wrote:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: My conscience compels me to urge you to commute the death sentence of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

"This appeal to you is prompted by the same reasons which were set forth so convincingly by my distinguished colleague, Harold C. Urey, in his letter of January 5, 1953, to the New York Times.

"Respectfully yours,

"ALBERT EINSTEIN."

Requests for Presidential clemency are pouring in from all parts of the world as world opinion notes that there is no evidence that the Rosenbergs ever stole any "atomic secret," that they ever met any Russians, or that they were guilty of anything except having anti-Fascist opinions. They face death solely on the word of one man, millions are saying everywhere. It is also noted that this Jewish couple are the first ever to be sentenced to death in the history of the United States during peacetime in a civil court for such an alleged crime.

William L. Patterson, chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, urged full support for the activities of the National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs. The committee has been seeking the broadest support for clemency for the Rosenbergs.

"Maintain the vigil in Washington organized by the committee," Patterson said. "Support delegations of trade unionists, lawyers, doctors, ministers to every Congressman. Man picket lines at home. These marching feet are heard around the world."

Mr. CLARDY. I note something else in there, Mr. Counsel, an editorial, as a matter of fact, entitled "Einstein, the Rosenbergs, and U. S. Labor's Duty." I note it with some interest because of what the noted scientist said recently.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is interesting to note how many people will lend their names in such a situation, so that the Daily Worker could even think of coupling United States labor in together with Einstein and the Rosenbergs.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question of the witness? Go back to this Reverend McGowan. Did you ever meet him personally?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, no, I have never met him personally.

Mr. DOYLE. Then you do not know if he is a Negro?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; I do not know his nationality. I assume he is Irish. His name is.

Mr. DOYLE. Would it not be a digression from established policy to have a man that was not known as a Communist at the head of that sort of a movement? You have testified that he was chairman of the National Committee To Defend Negro Leadership and so forth.

Mr. JOHNSON. It has always been a policy to have and to use persons who are not members of the Communist Party to head such organizations. That gives the organization a cloak of respectability so that the leader can say to John Doe and to Mary Doe, "I am not a Communist, but I subscribe to this program. I subscribe to this policy," and in that way it gives weight and respectability to it.

Mr. CLARDY. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, you have called our attention to the fact that in the January-February-March issue of 1950 of the Protestant the Reverend S. Lautenschlager is listed as one of the editorial advisers, and I note that you have a Communist-front magazine there before you for October 1935, the magazine being China Today.

Now, here is the question I would like to put to you: I note that the Reverend Lautenschlager is quoted in that 1935 article along the line of saying that it is necessary that capitalism be done away with in order that the future peace of the world may be insured.

Do you have any knowledge beyond that shown in this magazine as to any possible Communist connections or associations or affiliations or what have you of the Reverend Lautenschlager?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not know whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party, but from what he says, it is the same thing the Communists say. He calls for the destruction of the capitalist system.

Mr. CLARDY. I note that, and I notice he talks about——

Mr. JOHNSON. He also talks of the capitalist system as being responsible for wars and the situation of militarization in China, and so forth.

Mr. DOYLE. The Socialists said that and still say it, do they not? Is that not a fact? The Socialists used to say that, at least. Do they not still say it?

Mr. CLARDY. A great many of them undoubtedly do.

Mr. DOYLE. Is that not a tenet of the Socialist Party?

Mr. CLARDY. Well, not quite that way, as I understand it.

Let me ask you another question: Was it possible for anyone to get into this paper China Today unless he had some sympathetic understanding of the causes for which that paper was fighting?

Mr. DOYLE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. JOHNSON. The China Today is a magazine that was brought into existence by the decision of the Communist International and the political bureau of the Communist Party of the United States. The policy as put forth in the articles in China Today were in accord with—that is, in full agreement with—the line of the Communist Party as I knew it during those years as a member of the national committee of the Communist Party and also on the other committees on a national level of the party.

Mr. CLARDY. Then would it be a fair statement to say that because it was originated by the party, that nothing was permitted to get into its columns that did not in some way or other reflect the Communist Party line?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. I note one thing more. This October 1935 issue speaks of celebrating the first anniversary of China Today. Does that roughly correspond to your recollection as to when this magazine was started?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, it does. It was during the early part of the 1930's, I should say around 1934, I should say, that this magazine was started.

Mr. CLARDY. To sum it up——

Mr. JOHNSON. What I wanted to bring out here is that this article, written by Frederick Spencer, the subject of which is, and I quote, "The Missionaries Must Choose," which shows that at that particular time the Communists were working among the missionaries to get them to work against the interests of our Government in China and for the interests of the policy of Soviet Russia in relation to China—for example, there are two things that I would like to quote from this article to indicate this.

The characteristic feature of this error, internal reaction (Germany, Italy and the imperialist aggression, Manchuria, Ethiopia) may be observed to a greater

or lesser degree, wherever the ruling capitalist elements feel themselves menaced. Under these conditions unless the missionaries range themselves unmistakably beside the progressive forces that are seeking to establish a new social order, they must resign themselves to the instruments, possibly involuntary or unwitting, of the reactionary forces that are defending the interests of the old regime.

That is the end of the first quotation.

In view of the close historical ties of the missions with capitalist institutions, it is perhaps futile to expect that the central missionary organizations can disassociate themselves to any significant degree from their largely capitalist patrons and supporters. This does not hold true in equal measure for the individual missionary. The more intelligent and sensitive of the missionaries in the field are forced to come to grips with the underlying forces of imperialist exploitation that are racking the social fabric of Colonial countries. In some cases, at least, they take the position adopted by S. Lautenschlager, a Presbyterian missionary at Tsingtao, China, who concludes a recent article in "Fellowship" (September, 1935, Page 1112) as follows: "Exploiting capitalism and aggressive nationalism are the causes of war and the real enemies of mankind. When these causes are abolished, the militarization of China and of the world can come to an end. To accomplish this, we must be more than resisters of war; we must be positive workers for peace. We must become workers for the abolition of the systems that create war."

Mr. CLARDY. All right, Witness.

Now, as I understand it, you have a number of other copies of that magazine. Am I correct that the rest of them that you have there follow right along with this same general line?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, they do.

Mr. CLARDY. In the interest of expedition can we sum up without going into detail on that that what you have read is a fair sample of the line of attack that the magazine uses in trying to bring missionaries into the Communist fold?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Johnson, during the course of your testimony both in New York and here in Washington you have mentioned various persons known to you to be Communists, people with whom you sat in Communist fraction meetings during the time that you were a top member of the Communist Party. Are there any other names which come to your mind at the present time whom you can identify positively and absolutely as having been members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Harry Bridges, V. J. Jerome, Jack Stachel. All of them were Communist Party leaders of national prominence.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew them to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Let me interrupt. To take them out of order, Mr. Counsel, let us inquire a little bit about this.

You have named Harry Bridges. Do I understand you to say that you have actually sat in Communist meetings with Harry Bridges?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I did, in New York City in 1936, and I was also elected to the national committee of the Communist Party the same year that Harry Bridges was elected to the national committee, and that was at the ninth convention of the Communist Party of the United States held in 1936 in the city of New York.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you attend other Communist Party meetings besides the one that you have mentioned?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, that was the only one that I attended with Harry Bridges because the Communist Party made certain that knowledge of Bridges' membership was to be restricted to a very few people at the top because of the strategic position he held in the ranks of labor on the west coast. In order to assure that the maximum amount of secrecy prevailed, they put his name on the list of members for the national committee under the name of Rossi.

Mr. DOYLE. What first name?

Mr. JOHNSON. Just Rossi.

Mr. DOYLE. Not Harry Rossi or anything?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, Rossi.

Mr. DOYLE. What address were these meetings held at for purpose of identification?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, the national convention of the Communist Party was held in Manhattan Center on 34th Street near 8th Avenue in the city of New York.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you exercise or did the party, I should say, exercise precautions to make certain that only Communist members were admitted?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. You are testifying now that you saw him at this convention?

Mr. JOHNSON. I saw him at a meeting of the Politbureau and the central committee that was held during the period of the convention. They did not bring him in as an actual delegate because they did not want the other delegates to know about it, but he came in and attended a special meeting of the central committee.

Mr. CLARDY. Which you also attended?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I was present at that meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of course Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is well known as a writer for the Daily Worker for many years.

I will pass on to V. J. Jerome. Would you tell the committee just briefly your acquaintanceship with V. J. Jerome?

Mr. JOHNSON. V. J. Jerome was a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. He was head of the cultural commission of the national committee. He was in charge of the infiltration of the motion-picture industry. That was the special assignment by the Politbureau and central committee of the Communist Party. He wrote numerous theoretical articles for the Communist, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

Mr. KUNZIG. What years did you know Jerome to be a member of the top committees of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. From 1932 to 1940.

Mr. DOYLE. What would be the answer about Harry Bridges on the same point? What years did you know Bridges as a member of the top Communist—

Mr. JOHNSON. From 1936 until I left the party in 1940.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you mentioned Jack Stachel. Would you tell the committee briefly your contact and acquaintanceship with him?

Mr. JOHNSON. I worked under and with Jack Stachel for a number of years in the party. He was one of my instructors in the secret National Training School of the Communist Party in 1932 where I was trained to become a professional revolutionist. From 1934 up until I left the party I worked with him on the national trade union

commission of the national committee of the Communist Party. Jack Stachel was a member of the national committee and also a member of the political bureau of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. At the conclusion of your testimony here, Mr. Johnson, could you give us a summary of the overall manner in which the Communists have attempted to infiltrate and poison the religious organizations of America wherever possible?

Mr. JOHNSON. Once the tactic of infiltrating religious organizations was set by the Kremlin, the actual mechanics of implementing the "new line" was a question of following the general experiences of the living church movement in Russia where the Communists discovered that the destruction of religion could proceed much faster through infiltration of the church by Communist agents operating within the church itself.

The Communist leadership in the United States realized that the infiltration tactic in this country would have to adapt itself to American conditions and the religious makeup peculiar to this country. In the earliest stages it was determined that with only small forces available it would be necessary to concentrate Communist agents in the seminaries and divinity schools. The practical conclusion, drawn by the Red leaders was that these institutions would make it possible for a small Communist minority to influence the ideology of future clergymen in the paths most conducive to Communist purposes.

In general, the idea was to divert the emphasis of clerical thinking from the spiritual to the material and political—by political, of course, is meant politics based on the Communist doctrine of conquest of power. Instead of emphasis towards the spiritual and matters of the soul, the new and heavy emphasis was to deal with those matters which, in the main, led toward the Communist program of "immediate demands." These social demands, of course, were of such a nature that to fight for them would tend to weaken our present society and prepare it for final conquest by Communist forces.

The Communists had some small forces in the seminaries and under the leadership of Harry F. Ward. These were quickly augmented by additional recruits and siphoned into the divinity institutions by manipulations of Communist cells in the seminaries. This infiltration into seminaries was expedited by the use of considerable forces the Communists had in educational institutions which were eligible for hire by divinity organizations.

The plan was to make the seminaries the neck of a funnel through which thousands of potential clergymen would issue forth, carrying with them, in varying degrees, an ideology and slant which would aid in neutralizing the anti-Communist character of the church and also to use the clergy to spearhead important Communist projects.

This policy was successful beyond even Communist expectations. The combination of Communist clergymen, clergymen with a pro-Communist ideology, plus thousands of clergymen who were sold the principle of considering Communist causes as progressive, within 20 years, furnished the Soviet apparatus with a machine which was used as a religious cover for the overall Communist operation ranging from immediate demands to actually furnishing aid in espionage and outright treason.

The Communists have an advantage in religious organizations due to the fact that their forces within religious groups are well organized as a totalitarian group which, operating as a highly mobile force, works unceasingly toward a premeditated program. This gives this destructive element a great tactical advantage over all others in the religious organizations who deal with religion as individuals, operating ethics on the basis of an individual conscience before God.

In the early 1930's the Communists instructed thousands of their members to rejoin their ancestral religious groups and to operate in cells designed to take control of churches for Communist purposes. This method was not only propounded, but was executed with great success among large elements of American church life. Communists operating a double-pronged infiltration, both through elements of Communist-controlled clergy, and Communist-controlled laymen, managed to pervert and weaken entire stratas of religious life in the United States.

Communists in churches and other religious organizations were instructed to utilize the age-old tradition of the sanctity of the church as a cover for their own dastardly deeds. Through Reds in religion, we have a true living example of the old saying: "The Devil doth quote the Scripture."

The Communists learned that the clergyman under their control served as a useful "respectable face" for most of their front activities. In this way the name of religion was used to spearhead the odious plots hatched by the agents of antireligious Soviet communism.

Communist strategists counted the effectiveness of their forces not so much on numbers alone, but on the importance of individuals loyal to communism in key spots where a small group can influence large numbers and create havoc by controlling a sensitive spot. Thus one professor of divinity, lecturing to future clergymen, who in turn will preach to thousands of churchgoers, is, in the long run, more dangerous than 20 Red preachers, singing the praises of communism from the pulpit.

The same can also be said of a Communist agent operating an important position in a church publication which reaches large multitudes of churchgoing public. One practical effect of Red influence in church publications is to tip off scores of pro-Soviet clergymen, who are only too glad to receive sermon material through the medium of a church publication.

The large backlog which the Communists have in the writing and journalistic field make it easy for them to infiltrate religious publications and organize new publications representing the Communist slant in church circles.

It is an axiom in Communist organization strategy that if an infiltrated body has 1 percent Communist Party members and 9 percent Communist Party sympathizers, with well rehearsed plans of action, they can effectively control the remaining 90 percent who act and think on an individual basis. In the large sections of the religious field, due to the ideological poison which has been filtered in by Communists and pro-Communists through seminaries, the backlog of sympathizers and mental prisoners of socialistic ideology is greater than the 10 percent necessary for effective control.

It is my conviction, as a former leader of the Communist Party, that those who lead our Nation must expose this plot and the Communist pattern of operation within our churches. If the churchgoing public is apprised of the true facts by our investigating institutions they, by themselves, will quickly cast the Communist viper out of the house of God.

The Communist strategy of using the cry of "attack on religion" in order to stop an inquiry on their attack on religious life should not deter those in whose hands lie the responsibility of exposing this deadly danger to religion in America.

Mr. CLARDY. Is there any reason why this witness should not be released?

Mr. KUNZIG. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Very well, that concludes the session.

(The hearing was adjourned at 11 a. m., subject to the call of the Chair.)

(NOTE.—The following statement was ordered inserted in the record at this point:)

STATEMENT OF HOYT S. HADDOCK

To Whom It May Concern:

Newspaper stories of May 5, 1953, credit Mrs. Dorothy K. Funn, with stating in effect that I was one of a group of Communists who met " * * * together in the postwar period under Communist Party direction * * *." That "the meetings were held in her Washington home, 3100 Warder Street NW., and in the homes of the other members.

* * * All 17 members of the group were knowingly Communist Party members, submitting to Communist discipline. They worked to further aims of the Communist Party, not of their unions. * * *"

I want to state categorically, that if Mrs. Funn did in fact make such a statement, it is incorrect.

I knew Dorothy Funn as a representative of the National Negro Congress. During World War II I met her on frequent occasions at meetings of persons interested in civil-rights legislation. These meetings were called in Washington offices of organizations and Congressmen interested in bills on poll tax, FEPC, antilynch, and so forth. I attended such meetings as a representative of the CIO maritime committee or the CIO legislative department. Since coming to Washington in 1941, I have been the chairman of the civil-rights subcommittee of the CIO legislative department.

At no time during my assignment here in Washington have I ever been in the home of Mrs. Funn. Furthermore, I have never attended any meeting in the home of anyone in Washington—Communists or otherwise. Of the 17 persons named by Mrs. Funn, I have been in the homes of only 2. The occasion in each of these instances was social. The persons involved worked for the CIO maritime committee.

To my knowledge I have never attended any Communist meetings in Washington.

During the war the CIO maritime committee consisted of the National Maritime Union, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, American Communications Association, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, and the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipyard Workers. Of these unions, three were expelled from the CIO as unions whose officials followed the Communist line. They were the American Communications Association, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the International Fishermen and Allied Workers Union which was at that time part of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. I naturally worked with the officials of those unions while they were in the CIO maritime committee. It should be crystal clear that I never attended any Communist meetings with any of those officials at any time.

Beginning in 1946, I worked actively with some of the members of the American Communications Association to get rid of Communist domination of radio officers. In this we were successful. Then, about 1948, I joined in an active

campaign with Joseph Curran and other NMU officials to clean the Communists out of the National Maritime Union where they dominated. In this fight we were successful. Prior to these dates I was under constant attacks by at least one writer in the Daily Worker and others.

I cannot account for the error which Mrs. Funn made by including my name in her list, unless it was because we were frequently together in attendance at meetings on official business for our organizations. I must repeat, however, that I never attended any meeting, business or Communist, in her home or anyone else's home as the newspapers indicate she said.

I do not now nor have I ever held a card in the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, the Communist Political Association of America, or any other name used by the Communists in the United States, nor do I ascribe to their ideology or tactics. Persons who do carry a card in that party are, in my opinion, either outright dupes or agents for the Russians.

To the best of my ability I shall continue to assist in the stamping out of the Communist philosophy which is dedicated to the destruction of democracy and the dignity of the individual. The record speaks for itself on my long-known position that the United States must assist the free world in becoming strong enough to destroy the aggressiveness and conquering spirit of the Communists throughout the world.

(Signed) HOTT S. HADDOCK.

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